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A declaration of the Frontiſpice.

BEfore you travel to the Holy land,
Behold a Page that in the front doth ſtand
To give you aym and guidance i' the way.
Firſt Europe bids your obſervation ſtay
Upon a Purſe of gold (warres ſureſt nerve)
Whoſe every Croſſe is intereſs'd to ſerve
I'th' Holy warre. The gain (alas!) no more
Then Croſſes Gules *in ſtead of Croſſes* Or.
But ſee the troups, ſee how they march along:
where ſeverall ranks and orders make a throng
Promiſcuouſly blended; ſex and age,
Nation and language jointly do engage
Their devout forces to redreſſe thy woes,
Ieruſalem, raviſht by barbarous foes.
Peter the Monk, leaving his ſullen cell,
His Beads, and Offices, and every ſpell
Of his myſterious zeal, breaks forth at laſt
To kindle all the world with fatall blaſt.
Firſt Kings proceed; and Captains follow them:
The helmet waits upon the diadem.
The next are Prelates; who ſtray farre from home
To winne the glorious name of Martyrdome.
Since all their mild perſwaſions could not work
Upon th' obdurate Antichriſtian Turk,
They will at length (if nought prevent their plot)
Confute his Alcoran with ſword and ſhot.
After thoſe reverend men, whoſe cloven mitres
Speak them not warriours ſo much as writers,
A bald-pate regiment of Friars comes;
whoſe crowns might ſerve the army for their drums,
And give as full a ſound, if you'l confeſſe
The greateſt noiſe t'ariſe from emptineſſe.
Then moves the main Battalia, ſtraitly knit
Into a ſteadie Phalanx, *ſquare, but fit*
To ſpread, or lengthen, or with art to pare
The corners till the band grow circular
T'environ th'enemy; briefly, to reduce
Their various poſtures unto every uſe.
Theſe are the onely Forces; *all the reſt*
Impediments but ſpecious at the beſt.
But oh amazement! what is that we ſee?
A troup of Ladies in the next degree.
Each one appears a Pallas *i' the field*
Dropt newly from Jove's *brain with ſpear and ſhield:*
Or Mars *ſo long his* Venus *hath poſſeſt,*
Courage is ſtol'n into her tender breaſt.
March on, brave Amazons: *conqueſt and praiſe*
Weave you a chaplet of immortall bayes;
Which you, when Autumn-age ſhall pluck your hair,
In ſtead of coſtly perrinigs may wear.
March on: For the ſhrill trumpet and the fife,
Your tongues may ſerve; then to ſecure your life
You need no weapons, every face and eye
Carrieth ſufficient artillerie.
A ſlender company doth next ſucceed:
Call it the Infantrie; *'tis ſo indeed.*
As if the driving of the Turks away
From Chriſtian cities, were but childrens play.
The laſt in this Religious army crawls
A band collected out of Hoſpitals
And Spittles. One would think this piteous ſight
Did rather come from warre then go to fight.
Their commendation's this, How-e're the day
Shall chance to prove, they'l hardly run away.
This is the totall muſter. Let the book
Tell their atchievements: Mean time as you look
Upon this Frontiſpice, you'l plainly ſee
Their diſmall end and ſad Cataſtrophe.
Th'incenſed Angel with his flaming blade
Great ſlaughter of perfidious ſouls hath made.
To teach us truth and juſtice, ſee how God
Scourges their falſhood with a fiery rod.
Then the grand Signor his proud fauchion ſtretches
With domineering hand over the wretches
Low proſtrate at his foot. Can Chriſtian eyes
Endure this figure! Let the captives riſe,
Surly black Saracen; their bended knee
Has higher objects then to reverence thee:
They ſerve a Lord greater then Mahomet.
Though now their ſunne be darken'd and beſet
with clouds of diſadvantage, time will be
when ſuch poore things ſhall triumph over thee;
And their old prophecie ſhall be made good,
Thy Moon ſhall *then* be turned into bloud.
The laſt of their deſtroyers that you ſee,
Is that ſame gaſtly thing th' Anatomie
Doth repreſent; a naked cage of bone,
From whence the winged ſoul long ſince is flown:
They call it Death. He with his double hand,
Sickneſſe and caſualty on either hand,
Met many ſtragglers, forcing them to yeeld:
And where the Turk before him got the field,
He took the gleanings. Thus our ſouldiers fell
By th'Angel, Turk, and Death; heaven, earth, & hell.
Thoſe that eſcap'd, came home as full of grief
As the poore Purſe is empty of relief.
They're turn'd, and ſo is it; but nothing in't,
Till new devotion ſhall repair the Mint.
Mean while read o're the Hiſtorie: your brain
There you may fill, though not the Purſe again.

J. C.

THE HISTORIE of the HOLY WARRE.

By Tho Fuller, B.D. Prebendarie of Sarum, late of Sidney-Coll. in Cambridge.

Iohn. 4. 21.
The houre cometh when ye shall neither in this mountain nor yet at Jerusalem worship the Father.

Acts. 5. 38.
If this counsel be of men it will come to nought.

Printed by Thomas Buck one of the Printers to the University of Cambridge. & are sold by Iohn Williams at ye Crane in St. P. Church-yard.

THE HISTORIE of the HOLY WARRE;

By

THOMAS FULLER,

B. D. Prebendarie of *Sarum*, late of *Sidney* Colledge in CAMBRIDGE.

Printed by THOMAS BUCK, one of the Printers to the Universitie of *CAMBRIDGE*, 1639.

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To the Honourable

EDWARD MONTAGU, ꝧ S^r JOHN POWLET,
Sonnes and Heirs
to the Right Honourable

EDWARD Lord MONTAGU ꝧ JOHN Lord POWLET
of Boughton. ꝧ *of Hinton-S^t-George.*

WHen I obſerve the ſeverall alterations in Nobilitie, I find foure principall actours on the theatres of great Families; the Beginner, Advancer, Continuer, and Ruiner. The Beginner is he who by his vertues refineth himſelf from the droſſe of the vulgar, and layeth the foundation of his houſe: An excellent workman indeed, as who not onely bringeth his tools, but maketh his materialls. The Advancer, who improveth the patrimonie of Honour he receiveth; and what his Father found glaſſe and made cryſtall, he findeth cryſtall and maketh it pearl. The Continuer, who keepeth his Nobilitie alive, and paſſeth it along neither marring nor mending it; but ſendeth it to his Sonne as he received it from his Father. The Ruiner, who baſely degenerateth from his Anceſtours; ſo that in him Nobilitie hath runne ſo farre from its firſt ſtarting, that it is tired: and whileſt he liveth he is no better then his Grandfathers tombe; without, carved over with honourable titles, within, full of emptineſſe, or what is worſe, corruption.

Now to apply. You cannot be Beginners of your Families; that care was cared for before your nurſes were

choſen, or your cradles provided. Your Fathers, though of late yeares fixed in a higher Sphear, were bright Starres long before. None can go on in our Engliſh Chronicles, but they muſt meet with a *Montagu* and a *Powlet*, either in peace in their gowns, or in warre in their armour. Yea, when I go backward by the ſtreams of your Paternall Nobilitie, (not to ſpeak of the tributarie brooks of their matches) I can never find the firſt fountain; and hope none ſhall ever find the laſt fall. For as for the ruiners of houſes, I ſhould rend that thought out with my heart, if it ſhould conceive that of you. Nay, let me tell you; if you be but bare continuers of your Honour, you deceive both the deſires and hopes of your friends. Good is not good when proceeding from them from whom farre better is expected. Your youthfull vertues are ſo promiſing, that you cannot come off in your riper age with credit without performing what may redound to the advancing of the honour of your family, and without building your houſes one ſtorie higher in the Engliſh Hiſtorie.

Now know, next Religion, there is nothing accompliſheth a man more then Learning. Learning in a Lord, is as a diamond in gold. And if you fear to hurt your tender hands with thornie School-queſtions, there is no danger in meddling with Hiſtory, which is a velvet-ſtudy, & recreation-work. What a pitie is it to ſee a proper Gentleman to have ſuch a crick in his neck that he cannot look backward! yet no better is he who cannot ſee behind him the actions which long ſince were performed. Hiſtory maketh a young man to be old, without either wrinkles or gray hairs; priviledging him with the experience of age, without either the

infirmities

infirmities or inconveniences thereof. Yea, it not onely maketh things paſt, preſent; but inableth one to make a rationall conjecture of things to come. For this world affordeth no new accidents, but in the ſame ſenſe wherein we call it *a new Moon*, which is the old one in another ſhape, and yet no other then what hath been formerly. Old actions return again, furbiſhed over with ſome new and different circumſtances.

Now amongſt all particular hiſtories (I may ſay) none is more generall then this of the Holy warre, which now I preſent to your Honours. Some will condemn me for an ill husband, in laviſhing two Noble Patrones on one book, whereas one of them might have ſerved to have patronized many volumes. But firſt, I did it in the weak expreſsion of my thankfulneſſe unto you, being deeply indebted to you both; and I thought it diſhoneſtie to pay all to one creditour and none to another; and therefore conceived it beſt, to ſhare my eſtate joyntly betwixt you, as farre forth as it would extend. Secondly, conſidering the weakneſſe of this Work, now being to walk abroad in the world, I thought it muſt be led by both arms, and needed a double ſupporter. And now I am ſure this Holy warre, which was unhappie heretofore, when acted, will be happie hereafter, now written and related, becauſe dedicated to your Honours. So reſteth

Your Honours

in all ſervice

THO. FULLER.

Broad-windſor,

March 6. 1638.

To the Reader.

IN this work I can challenge nothing to my self, but the composing of it. The materialls were found to my hand: which if any Historian will make, let him not be commended for wit, but shamed for falshood. If every-where I have not charged the margin with the Authours names, it is either becaus the storie is authour for it self (I mean, generally received) or to avoyd the often citing of the same place. Where I could not go abroad my self, there I have taken aire at the window, and have cited Authours on others citations; yet so that the stream may direct to the fountain.

If the reader may reap in few houres what cost me more moneths, just cause have I to rejoyce, and he (I hope) none to complain. Thus may the faults of this book redound to my self, the profit to others, the glory to God.

To his worthily deare friend, *THOMAS FVLLER*, B. D. upon his excellent work, the HOLY WARRE.

PEace *is thy Calling, friend; thy Title,* Warre:
What, doth thy Title with thy Calling jarre?
The Holy warre ! *this makes the wonder cease:*
An holy warre *becomes a man of* peace.

Taſſo, *be ſilent; my friend ſpeaks: his Storie*
Hath robb'd thy poeme of its long-liv'd glorie.
So rich his vein, his lines of ſo high ſtate,
Thou canſt not feigne ſo well as he relate.

Godfrey *firſt entred on this warre, to free*
His Saviours Tombe from Turks captivitie:
And too-too meanly of himſelf he deems,
If thus he his Redeemer not redeems.
A glorious end! nor did he fear to erre,
In loſing life, to gain Chriſts Sepulchre.
But I dare ſay, were Godfrey *now alive,*
(Godfrey, *who by thy penne muſt needs ſurvive*)
He would again act o're his noble toil,
Doing ſuch deeds as ſhould the former foil;
If for no other reaſon, yet to be
Deliver'd unto time and fame by thee:
Nor would he fear in ſuch exploits to bleed;
Then to regain a Tombe, now not to need.

ROBERT GOMERSALL, Vicar of Thorncombe in Devon.

OF *this our Authours book I'le ſay but this,*
(*For that is praiſe ample enough*) *'Tis his:*
Nor all the Muſes nor Apollo's *layes*
Can ſing his worth; be his own lines his bayes.

ROBERT TYRLING.

On Mr Fullers Historie of the HOLY WARRE.

THen, Christians, rest secure: ye need not band
Henceforth in Holy leagues for th' Holy land,
To conquer and recover't from the Turk:
'Tis done already: FULLERS learned work
And penne more honour to the cause doth bring,
Then did Great Godfrey *or our* Lion-King.
Jerusalem with darknesse long beset,
Captiv'd to time more then to Mahomet,
Inthrall'd to silence and oblivion
(A bondage worse then that of Babylon*)*
Is now redeem'd. Lo, by this sacred Story
How she revives into her ancient glory!
Look, how her bury'd pinnacles 'gin to peep
Out of their venerable dust and sleep!
See, how the Temple and the Sepulchre,
Wak'd with the trumpet of this Holy warre
From their own grave and ruines, do resent
A resurrection by this monument!
Stay, Pilgrimes, stay; wander not hence so farre;
Set up your rest here in this Holy warre.
Here you may visit and adore the Shrine
For which so many Saints in arms combine.
Behold the zealous squadrons, how they stand
Arm'd with devotion for the Holy land.
They'l take you, if not it: while ye admire
Their zeal, your love will kindle at this fire.
Thus learned FULLER a full conquest makes,
Triumphs o're time, and mens affections, takes
Captive both it and them; his historie
Me thinks is not a Warre, but Victorie:
Where every line does crown (such strength it bears)
The Authour Laureate, and a trophey rears.

JAMES DUPORT, B.D. T.C.

To

To his worthy and learned friend

Mr Tho. Fuller, upon his excellently composed Historie of the Holy Warre.

CAptain of Arts, in this thy Holy warre
My Muse desires to be thy Trumpeter,
In thy just praise to spend a blast or two:
For this is all that she (poore thing) can do.

Peter *the Hermite, like an angry owl,*
Would needs go fight all armed in his cowl.
What, had the Holy man nought else to do,
But thus to lose his bloud and credit too?
Seeking to winne Christs Sepulchre, God wot,
He found his own: This was the ground he got.
Except he got more ground, when he one day
Besieging Antioch fiercely ran away.
Much wiser was the Pope: At home he stay'd,
And made the world beleeve he wept and pray'd.
Mean while (behold the fruit of feigned tears)
He sets the world together by the eares.
His head serves him, whil'st others use their hands:
Whil'st Princes lose their lives, he gets their lands.
To winne the Holy land what need Kings roam?
The Pope can make an Holy land at home
By making it his own: Then for a fashion,
'Tis said to come by Constantines donation.
For all this Fox-craft, I have leave (I hope)
To think my friend farre wiser then the Pope
And Hermite both: He deals in Holy warres
Not as a stickler in those fruitlesse jarres,
But a composer rather. Hence this book;
Whereon whil'st I with greedie eyes do look,
Me thinks I travel through the Holy land,
Viewing the sacred objects on each hand.
Here mounts (me thinks) like Olivet, brave sense;
There flows a Jordan of pure eloquence:
A Temple rich in ornament I find
Presented here to my admiring mind.
Strange force of Art! The ruin'd Holy citie
Breeds admiration in me now, not pitie.
To testifie her liking, here my Muse
Makes solemn Vows, as Holy Pilgrimes use.
I vow, deare friend, the Holy warre is here
Farre better writ then ever fought elsewhere.

Thousands have fought and died: But all this while,
I vow, there nothing triumphs but thy style.
Thy wit hath vanquisht Barbarisme more
Then ever Godfrey's *valour did before.*
Might I but choose, I rather would by farre
Be authour of thy Book then of that Warre.
Let others fight; I vow to reade thy works,
Prizing thy ink before the bloud of Turks.

J. Booth, B. D. C. C. C.

On the Title of this book.

How comes stern Warre to be accounted holy,
By nature fierce, complexion melancholy?
Ile tell you how: Sh'as been at Rome of late,
And gain'd an indulgence to expiate
Her massacres; and by the Popes command
Sh'as bin a Pilgrime to the Holy land,
Where freeing Christians by a sacred plot,
She for her pains this Epithet hath got.

Hugo Atkins.

Nor need Jerusalem that holy mother
Envy old Troy; since she has found another
To write her battels, and her warres rehearse
In prose as elegant as Homers *verse.*
Let Sueton's *name* august *as* Cesars *be;*
Curtius *more worlds then* Alexander *see;*
Let Joseph *in his countreys siege survive,*
And Phenix-like in his own ashes thrive:
Thy work, great FULLER, will out-live their glory,
And make thy memorie sacred as thy Storie.
Thy style is clear and white: thy very name
Speaks pureness, and addes lustre to the frame.
All men could wish, nay long, the world would jarre,
So thou'dst be pleas'd to write, compose the Warre.

H. Hutton, M. A. C. Jes.

To

To my friend Mr THOMAS FULLER, on his book *The Holy Warre.*

WHile of thy book I ſpeak, Friend, Ile think on
Thy Jordan for my pureſt Helicon;
And for biſork'd Parnaſſus, I will ſet
My phanſie on the ſacred Olivet.

'Tis holy ground which now my meaſur'd feet
Muſt tread on; then (as in due right 'tis meet)
Let them be bare and plain: for quainter art
May ſacrifice to thee without a heart;
And while it praiſeth this thy work, may preach
His glory, rather then thy merits reach.
Here, Reader, thou may'ſt judge and well compare
Who moſt in madneſſe, Jew or Romane, ſhare:
This not ſo blind, yet in the cleareſt day
Does ſtumble ſtill on ſtocks, on ſtones, on clay;
The other will in bright and higheſt noon
Chooſe ſtill to walk by glimmering light o'th' Moon.
Here thou may'ſt repreſented ſee the fight
Between our earthly Fleſh and heavenly Sp'rit.
Lo, how the Turk doth drive with flaming ſword
Salvation from him and Gods holy word,
As once the angel did rebellious vice
With Adam force from bleſſed paradiſe.
And this in ſtyle diamond-like doth ſhine,
Which firmeſt parts and cleareſt do combine,
And o're the ſad ground of the Jewiſh ſtorie
As light embroidrie explayes its glorie.
The Temple ras'd and ruin'd ſeems more high
In his ſtrong phraſe, then when it kiſs'd the ſkie;
And as the Viper by thoſe pretious tears
Which Phaeton bemon'd, of Amber wears
A rich (though fatall) coat, ſo here inclos'd
With words ſo rare, ſo ſplendent, ſo compos'd
Ev'n Mahomet has found a tombe, which ſhall
Laſt when the fainting Loadſtone lets him fall.

HENRY VINTENER.

To his old friend Mr Fuller.

I Love no warres,
I love no jarres,
Nor ſtrifes fire:
May diſcords ceaſe;
Let's live in peace;
This I deſire.

If it muſt be
Warre we muſt ſee
(So Fates conſpire)
May we not feel
The force of ſteel;
This I deſire:

But in thy book
When I do look
And it admire;
Let Warre *be there,*
But Peace elſwhere;
This I deſire.

Tho. Jackſon.

To his worthy Friend Mr Thomas Fuller on his book, *The Holy Warre.*

THere's not a ſtorie, Friend, in thy book told,
But is a jewell; each line a thred of gold:
Though Warre ſound harſh, and doth our minds affright,
Yet cloth'd in well-wrought language doth delight;
Such is thy gilded phraſe, I joy to reade
In thee maſſacres, and to ſee men bleed.
Oft have I ſeen in hangings on a wall
The ruines of great Troy, and Priams fall:
A ſtorie in it ſelf ſo full of woe,
T'would make the Græcian weep that was the foe;
But being wrought in arras, and made gay
With rich embroydery makes th'beholder ſay,
I like it well; This flame, that ſcarre is good;
And then commends this wound, that ſtream of blood.
Things in themſelves diſtaſtfull are by art
Made pleaſant, and do much delight the heart:

Such

Such is thy book: Though it of bloud relate,
And horrid Warre whose very name we hate,
Yet clad in arras-language; and thy phrase
Doth not affright, but with delight amaze,
And with such power upon our senses seise,
That makes Warre, dreadfull in it self, to please.

WILLIAM JOHNSON, Q. Coll.

To his deare friend Mr FULLER.

WE need not now those zealous vot'ries meet,
Or pilgrimes turn; but on our verses feet.
Thy quill hath wing'd the earth; the Holy land
Doth visit us, commanded by thy hand.
If envy make thy labours prove thy losse,
No marvel, if a Croisade *wear the Crosse.*

CLEMENT BRETTON, Sidn. Coll.

Errata.

Page		For	Read
	10	Sabell. Æn.	Sabell. Enn.
	12		
	72	Paulinus,	Pontius.
	114	Charatux,	Characux.
	155	Noradine,	Coradine.
	205	Nanse,	Nuise.
	243	Burbant,	Bourbon.
	264	foure Albergies,	seven Albergies.
	267	necessarie security,	necessarie severity.
	275	offertures,	offers.
Last page of the Chronol.		Peter Belius,	Peter Belvise.
In the Table		Charatux,	Characux.

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* *Josephus, lib. 7. belli Jud. Gr. c. 45. Lat. c. 17.*

* *Exod. 12. 13.*

* *Adricom. in Actis Apost. fol. 282. credo, ex Hegesippo.*
* *Suetonius, in Tito.*

A Table shewing ye variety of Places names in Palestine.

In ye Old testament.	In Christs time.	In S. Hieromes time.	At this day.
1 Selah.	1 Petra in Arabia.	1 Gebalena.	1* Crach. *Tyrius. lib. 22. Cap. 5.
2	2 Emmaus.	2 Nicopolis.	2 {Nicopol, Gotz,} of {Christians. Turks.
3 Gebal.	3 Byblus.	3	3 {Gibler, Saites, Zibeletto.}
4 Geris.	4 Felix Julia.	4 Berytus.	4 Baruti.
5 Golan.	5 Caulona.	5	5 } Ortelius.
6 {Jericho, City of Palm-trees.}	6	6	6
7 Megiddo.	7	7	7 {Subimbre, Suberbe.}
8 {Kirjath-Arbah, Hebron.}	8	8 Eleutheropolis, Cedreno. teste.	8 Callil.
9 Lashah.	9 Callirrhoe.	9	9

See the rest, Book 1 chap. 23.

Of thirty mapps and Descriptions of the Holy Land, which I have perused, I never met with two in all considerables alike. Some sink valleyes where others raise mountains; yea, and rivers where others begin them; and sometimes with a wanton dash of their pen, create a Stream in Land, a Creek in Sea, more then Nature ever owned. In these differences wee have followed the Scripture as an unpartiall umpire. The Longitudes and Latitudes (wherein there bee also unreconcileable discords) I have omitted, being advised that it will not quit cost in a mappe of so small extent.

Aradus
Antaradus
The Assasines Land
Botrus
Byblus
Syrophoenicia
Here dwell the Margites
Tower of Libanus
Damascus
Pharpar fl:
Abana fl:
Canis flu:
Berytus
Mount Li-ba-nus.
Misrephothmaim
Great Cana
Sarepta
Fons hortorum
Cabul: land.
Kedesh
Jor
Dan
Hobah
Zidon
Tyre
Sandalium
Ecdippa
Thoron
Haroseth
Hazor
Abelbethmaachah
DAN
Cesarea Philippi
Libani
Aphek
Riblah
Maacha
Geshur
Waters of Merom
Jacobs bridge
Prolemais
Belus fl:
Cendevian Lake
Little Cana
Corradines fort
Nazareth
Tabor Mount
Golan
Basan oaker
Edrei
Astaroth
Gilead Mount
Kishon flu.
Carmel Mount
Christs Mount
Capernaum
Bethsaida
Naim
Magdalum
Bethulia
Chorazin
Pella
Rabbah
Tiberias
Mahanaim
Shunem
Kishion
Gadara
Ramoth Gilead
Dor
Jezreel
Gergasa
Jaboth Gilead
Frobolet
Tarichea
Peniel
Cesarea Stratonis.
Naboths Vineyard
Megiddo torr:
Jabbok fl:
Ephraim Forrest
Rogelim
Taanach
Megiddo
Antipatris
Bethsan
Samaria
Tirzah
Succoth
Thebez
Saron
Sichem
Enon
Salim
Mount Ephraim
Gerazim
Ebal
Heshbon
Aroer
Arnon fl:
Rammula
Luz
Gibeon
Shiloh
Anathoth
Bethel
Medeba
Mispah
Emmaus
Nob
Bethanie
Jerusalem
Bahurim
Bethphage
Adam
Gilgal
Jericho
Bethabara
Adullam
Zion
Bethlehem
Cedron fl:
Lots wife
Kirjathjearim
Edar tower
Zoar
Bethshemesh
Tekoah
Lachish
Nebo Mount
Tekoah Wilderness
Machærus
Callirrhoe
Arnon fl:
Hebron
Debir
Lots cave
Sodom
Carmel Wilderness
Admah
Ar-moab
Zared fl:
Engedi
Carmel
Maon Wilderness
Maon
Arad
Giloh
Jeruel
Scale of miles
10 20 30
Zeboim
Gomorrah
Dimon fl:
Aarons grave.
Hor Mount
Crach
Bozrah
Teman
W. Marshall sculpsit.

The Historie of the HOLY WARRE.

Book I.

Chap. 1.

The destruction of the citie and temple of Jerusalem by the Romanes under the conduct of Titus.

Anno Dom. 34. 72.

WHen the Jews had made the full measure of their sinnes runne over by putting to death the Lord of life, Gods judgements (as they deserved, and our Saviour foretold) quickly overtook them: for a mighty army of the Romanes besieged and sackt the citie of Jerusalem, wherein by fire, famine, sword, civil discord, & forreigne force * eleven hundred thousand were put to death. An incredible number it seemeth: yet it cometh within the compasse of our belief, if we consider that the siege began at the time of the Passeover, when in a manner all Judea was inclosed in Jerusalem, all private synagogues doing then their duties to the mother-temple; so that the citie then had more guests then inhabitants. Thus the Passeover first *instituted by God in mercie to save the Israelites from death, was now used by him in justice to hasten their destruction, and to gather the nation into a bundle to be cast into the fire of his anger. Besides those who were slain, ninetie seven thousand were taken captives; and they who had bought our Saviour for thirty pence, * were themselves sold thirty for a penie. The Generall of the Romanes in this action was Titus, sonne to Vespasian the Emperour. A prince so good, that he was styled the **Darling of mankind* for his sweet and loving nature; (and pitie it was so good a stock had not been better grafted!) so vertuously disposed, that he may justly be counted the glory of all Pagans, and shame of most Christians. He laboured what lay in his power to have saved

* *Josephus, lib. 7. belli Jud. Gr. c. 45. Lat. c. 17.*

* *Exod. 12. 13.*

* *Adricom. in Actis Apost. fol. 282. credo, ex Hegesippo.*
* *Suetonius, in Tito.*

2 ved the temple, and many therein; but the Jews by their obstinacie and desperatenesse made themselves uncapable of any mercy. Then was the temple it self made a sacrifice, and burnt to ashes; and of that stately structure which drew the Apostles admiration, not a stone left upon a stone. The walls of the citie (more shaken with the sinnes of the Jews defending them, then with the battering rammes of the Romanes assaulting them) were levelled to the ground; onely three towres left standing to witnesse the great strength of the place, and greater valour of the Romanes who conquered it. But whilest this storm fell on the unbeleeving Jews, it was calm amongst the Christians; who warned by Christs predictions, and many other prodigies, fled betimes out of the citie to Pella (a private place beyond Jordan) which served them in stead of a little Zoar to save them from the imminent destruction. *Euseb. Eccl. hist. lib. 3. cap. 5.* *Anno Dom.*

Chap. 2.

How Judea was dispeopled of Jews by Adrian the Emperour.

THreescore yeares after, Adrian the Emperour rebuilt the citie of Jerusalem, changing the situation somewhat westward, and the name thereof to Ælia. To despite the Christians, he built a*temple over our Saviours grave, with the images of Jupiter and Venus; another at Bethlehem, to Adonis her minion: and to enrage the Jews, did engrave swine over the gates of the citie: Who storming at the profanation of their land, brake into open rebellion, but were subdued by Julius Severus the Emperours lieutenant, an experienced captain, and many thousands slain, with Bencochab their counterfeit Messias (for so he termed himself) that is, the *sonne of a starre*, usurping that propheſie, * *Out of Jacob shall a starre arise*; though he proved but a fading comet, whose blazing portended the ruine of that nation. The captives, by order from Adrian, were transported into Spain; the countrey laid waste, which parted with her people and fruitfulnesse both together. Indeed pilgrimes to this day here and there light on parcels of rich ground in Palestine: which God may seem to have left, that men may tast the former sweetnesse of the land, before it was sowred for the peoples sinnes; and that they may guesse the goodnesse of the cloth by the fineneſse of the shreds. But it is barren for the generality: the streams of milk and hony wherewith once it flowed, are now drained dry; and the *whole face of the land looketh sad, not so much 132.

*Hieron. tom. 1. pag. 104.

*Num. 24. 17.

*Sand. Trav. fol. 145.

Anno Dom.

much for want of dreſſing, as becauſe God hath frowned on it. Yet great was the overſight of Adrian, thus totally to unpeople a province, and to bequeath it to foxes and leopards. Though his memory was excellent, yet here he forgot the old Romanes rule, who to prevent deſolations, where they rooted out the natives, planted in colonies of their own people. And ſurely the countrey recovered not a competencie of inhabitants for ſome hundred yeares after. For though many pilgrimes came thither in after-ages, yet they came rather to viſit then to dwell: and ſuch as remained there, moſt embracing ſingle lives, were no breeders for poſterity. If any ſay that Adrian did wilfully neglect this land, and proſtitute it to ruine for the rebellion of the people; yet all account it ſmall policie in him, in puniſhing the Jews to hurt his own empire, and by this vaſtation to leave fair and clear footing for forrein enemies to faſten on this countrey, and from thence to invade the neighbouring dominions: as after the Perſians and Saracens eaſily overran and diſpeopled Paleſtine; and no wonder if a thin medow were quickly mown. But to return to the Jews; Such ſtragglers of them, not conſiderable in number, as eſcaped this baniſhment into Spain (for few hands reap ſo clean as to leave no gleanings) were forbidden to enter into Jeruſalem, or ſo much as to behold it from any riſe or advantage of ground. * Yet they obtained of the after-Emperours, once a yeare (namely, on the tenth of Auguſt, whereon their citie was taken) to go in and bewail the deſtruction of their temple and people, bargaining with the ſouldiers who waited on them, to give ſo much for ſo long abiding there; and if they exceeded the time they conditioned for, they muſt ſtretch their purſes to a higher rate: So that (as S. Hierome noteth) they who bought Chriſts bloud, were then glad to buy their own tears.

3

* *Hieron. tom. 6. pag. 256.*

Chap. 3.

Of the preſent wofull condition of the Jews; and of the ſmall hope, and great hindrances of their converſion.

THus the main bodie of the Jews was brought into Spain, and yet they ſtretched their out-limbes into every countrey: ſo that it was as hard to find a populous citie without a common ſink, as without a company of Jews. They grew fat on the bareſt paſture, by uſurie and brokage; though often ſqueezed by thoſe Chriſtians amongſt whom they lived, counting them dogs, and therefore eaſily finding a ſtick to beat them. And al-

4

wayes in any tumult, when the fense of order was broken, the Jews lay next harms: as at the coronation of Richard the first, when the English made great feasts, but the pillaged Jews paid the shot. At last for their many villanies (as falsifying of coin, poysoning of springs, crucifying of Christian children) they were slain in some places, and finally banished out of others: Out of England *anno* 1291 by Edward the first; France 1307, by Philip the Fair; Spain 1492, by Ferdinand; Portugall 1497, by Emmanuel. But had these two latter kings banished all Jewish bloud out of their countreys, they must have emptied the veins of their best subjects, as descended from them. Still they are found in great numbers in Turkie; chiefly in Salonichi, where they enjoy the freest slavery: and they who in our Saviours time so scorned Publicanes, are now most imployed in that office, to be the Turks toll-gatherers: Likewise in the Popish parts of Germanie; in Poland, the Pantheon of all religions: and Amsterdam may be forfeited to the king of Spain, when she cannot shew a pattern of this as of all other sects. Lastly, they are thick in the Popes dominions, where they are kept as a testimonie of the truth of the Scriptures, and foyl to Christianitie, but chiefly in pretense to convert them. But his Holinesse his converting facultie worketh the strongest at the greatest distance: for the Indians he turneth to his religion, and these Jews he converteth to his profit. Some are of opinion of the generall calling of the Jews: and no doubt those who dissent from them in their judgements, concurre in their wishes and desires. Yet are there three grand hindrances of their conversion: First, the offense taken and given by the Papists amongst whom they live, by their worshipping of images, the Jews being zelots in the second commandment: Secondly, because on their conversion they must * renounce all their goods as ill gotten; and they will scarce enter in at the doore of our Church, when first they must climbe over so high a threshold: Lastly, they are debarred from the use of the New Testament, the means of their salvation. And thus we leave them in a state most pitifull, and little pitied.

Anno Dom.

Munster, Cosmogr. p. 457.

Polyd. Virg. pag. 327.

Sandys Trav. pag. 146.

* *P. Heylin, Microcos. in Palestine, pag. 570. Sr Ed. Sandys Survay of the West.*

Chap. 4.

Of the flourishing Church in Judea under Constantine: Julian his successe in building the temple.

ADrian his profanation of Jerusalem lasted * 180 yeares, as S. Hierome counteth it: during which time, the Christians under the ten persecutions had scarce a leap-yeare of peace and quiet,

* *Epist. ad Paulinum; tom. 1. p. 104.*

Anno Dom.

quiet, and yet bare all with invincible patience; yea, some were too ambitious of martyrdome, and rather wooed then waited for their own deaths. At last, Constantine (a Britan by birth, as *all authours agree, save one or two late wrangling Grecians, who deserve to be arraigned for felonie, for robbing our land of that due honour) stanched the issue of bloud wherewith the Church had long been troubled, and brought her into acquaintance with peace and prosperitie. Then Helen his mother (no lesse famous amongst the Christians for her pietie, then the ancient Helen amongst Pagans for her beauty) travelled to Jerusalem; zeal made her scarce sensible of her age, being 80 years old: and there she purged mount Calvary and Bethlehem of idolatry; then built in the places of Christs birth, and buriall, and elsewhere in Palestine, many most stately and sumptuous churches. And because she visited the stable and manger of our Saviours nativitie, Jews and Pagans slander her to have been **stabularia*, an Ostleresse or a she-stable-groom: The same nickname which since impudent Papists (not for the same reason, but with as little truth) put on reverend *Cranmer, Archbishop of Canterbury. But these dead flies were not able to corrupt the sweet ointment of her name, fragrant to posterity; and as a * Father writeth of her, *Bona stabularia, quæ maluit æstimari stercoraria ut Christum lucrifaceret.* To her is ascribed the finding out of the Crosse, the memory whereof is celebrated the third of May. And from that time the Church flourished in Palestine, being as well provided of able Bishops, as they of liberall maintenance.

Camden, Brit. pag. 51.

326.

* *Ambros. cont. in Theodosium.*

* *Fox, Martyrol. p. 1860.*

* *Ambros. ibid.*

363. Afterwards Julian going about to confute God, befooled himself, and many Jews. This Apostate studied to invent engines to beat down Christianity: yet all the vapours of his brain could not cloud so bright a sunne. He gave the Jews libertie (not so much out of love to them, as hatred to Christians) with money and materials to build again their temple, hoping by raising it to ruine the truth of Christs prophesie. * Hither flocked the Jews with spades and mattocks of silver to cleat the foundation; the women carried away the rubbish in their laps, and contributed all their jewels and ornaments to advance the work. But a sudden * tempest made them desist, which carried away their tools and materials, with balls of fire which scorched the most adventurous of the builders. Thus they who sought to put out the truth of Christs words, by snuffing it made it burn the brighter. But the wonder of this wonder was, that the hearts of the Jews, and of him who set them on work, were hardened by obstinacie, to be so miracle-proof that all this made no impression in them. Yet * afterwards, the Christians in the place where Solomons temple was, built a stately church:

* *Ammianus Marcel. lib. 23. sub initio.*

**Socrat. Hist. Eccl. lib. 3. cap. 20. Theodoret, lib. 3. cap. 20. Sozom. lib. 5. cap. 22.*

* *Adricom. Descript. terræ sanctæ, pag. 158.*

6 but not in opposition to God, or with intent to reestablish Jewish rites, but in humilitie, and for the exercise of Christian religion: which church was long after the seat of the Patriarch. But for fear to exceed the commission of an Historian (who with the outward senses may onely bring in the *species*, and barely relate facts, not with the common sense passe verdict or censure on them) I would say, they had better have built in some other place, (especially having room enough besides) and left this floore where the temple stood, alone to her desolations. Yea, God seemeth not so well contented with this their act, the Christians being often beaten out of that church; and at this day *whosoever (though casually) entreth therein, must either forfeit his life, or renounce his religion.

*Sand. Trav. pag. 192.

Anno Dom.

Chap. 5.

Syria conquered by Chosroes; Chosroes, by Heraclius the Grecian Emperour.

THe next remarkable alteration happened under Phocas the Emperour, who (saith *Tyrius) had a nature answering his name, which signifieth a Seil, or Sea-calf: for as that fish (little better then a monster) useth lazily to lie sleeping and sunning it self on the shore; so this careless usurper minded nothing but his own ease and pleasure, till at last he was slain by Heraclius his successour: as seldome tyrants corpses have any other balm at their buriall, then their own bloud. Phocas his negligence betrayed the Empire to forrein foes, and invited Chosroes the Persian to invade it, who with a great army subdued Syria and Jerusalem. A conquest little honourable, as made against small resistance, and used with lesse moderation: for besides many other cruelties, he sold many thousands of Christians to the Jews their old enemies, who in revenge of their former grudge, put them not onely to drudgery, but to torture. Chosroes to grace his triumph carried the Crosse away with him, forced all the Christians in Persia to turn* Nestorians, and demanded of Heraclius the Grecian Emperour, that he should renounce his religion, and worship the* Sun. Thus we see how light-headed this Pagan did talk, being stark drunk with pride. But the Christian Emperour entring Persia with great forces quelled at last this vaunting Sennacherib: for to him might he well be compared, for pride, crueltie, blasphemous demands, and the manner of his death, being also slain by Siroes one of his sonnes. Heraclius returning took Jerusalem in his way, and there restored

*Belli sacri lib. 23. cap. 21

610.

615.

Theophanes in Annal.

*Paulus Diaconus, Miscel. lib. 18.
* Cedrenus.

628.

Anno Dom.

red *the Croſſe (counted a precious jewel) to the temple of the Sepulchre, the cabinet whence it had been violently taken away; and in memoriall thereof, inſtituted on the 14 of September the feaſt of the Exaltation of the Croſſe. Yet *ſome make the celebration thereof of greater antiquitie: and the Grecians write, that Chryſoſtome (an hundred yeares before) died on the day called the Exaltation of the Croſſe. This if it be true, and not antedated by a Prolepſis, then Heraclius gave the luſtre (not firſt originall) to this feſtivall, and ſcoured bright an old holy-day with a new ſolemnitie.

7

*Tyrius, bell. ſacr. lib. 23. cap. 20.

*Baronius, in Martyrolog. 14 Sept.

Chap. 6.

Of the deluge of the Saracens in Syria, the cauſes of the farre ſpreading of Mahometaniſme.

BUt the ſinnes of the Eaſtern countreys, and chiefly their damnable hereſies, haſtened Gods judgements upon them. In theſe Weſtern parts, hereſies like an angle caught ſingle perſons; which in Aſia, like a drag-net, took whole provinces. The ſtayed and ſettled wits of Europe were not eaſily removed out of the old rode and tract of religion, whiles the active and nimble heads of the Eaſt were more deſirous of novelties, more cunning to invent diſtinctions to cozen themſelves with, more fluent in language to expreſſe their conceits, as alwayes errours grow the faſteſt in hot brains. Hence it came to paſſe, that Melchites, Maronites, Neſtorians, Eutycheans, Jacobites, overſpread theſe parts, maintaining their peſtilent tenents with all obſtinacy, which is that dead fleſh which maketh the green wound of an errour feſter by degrees into the old ſore of an hereſie. Then was it juſt with God to ſuffer them who would not be convinced with Chriſtian Councels, to be ſubdued by the Pagans ſword: For though Choſroes had not long a ſettled government in Paleſtine, but as a land-floud came and went away quickly; yet the Saracens who ſhortly followed, as ſtanding water drowned all for a long continuance. *Theſe under Haumar Prince of Arabia, took Jeruſalem, conquered Syria, and propagated the doctrine of Mahomet round about.

636. *Tyrius, bell. ſacr. lib. 1. pag. 2.

It may juſtly ſeem admirable how that ſenſeleſſe religion ſhould gain ſo much ground on Chriſtianitie; eſpecially having neither reall ſubſtance in her doctrine, nor winning behaviour in her ceremonies to allure profeſſours. For what is it but the ſcumme of Judaiſme and Paganiſme ſod together, and here and there ſtrewed over with a ſpice of Chriſtianitie? As Mahomets tombe,

8 tombe, so many sentences in his Alcoran seem to hang by some secret loadstone, which draweth together their gaping independences with a mysticall coherence, or otherwise they are flat non-sense. Yet this wonder of the spreading of this leprosie is lessened, if we consider that besides the generall causes of the growing of all errours (namely the gangrene-like nature of evil, and the justice of God to deliver them over to beleeve lies who will not obey the truth) Mahometanisme hath raised it self to this height by some peculiar advantages: First, by permitting much carnall libertie to the professours (as having many wives) and no wonder if they get fish enough, that use that bait: Secondly, by promising a paradise of sensuall pleasure hereafter, wherewith flesh and bloud is more affected (as falling under her experience) then with hope of any spirituall delights: Thirdly, by prohibiting of disputes, and suppressing of all learning; and thus Mahomet made his shop dark on purpose, that he might vent any wares: Lastly, this religion had never made her own passage so fast and so farre, if the sword had not cut the way before her, as commonly the conquered follow for the most part the religion of the conquerours. By this means that cursed doctrine hath so improved it self, that it may outvie with professours the Church of Rome, which boasteth so much of her latitude and extent; though from thence to inferre that her faith is the best, is falsely to conclude the fineness of the cloth from the largeness of the measure. *Anno Dom.*

Now the condition of the Christians under these Saracens was as uncertain as April-weather. Sometimes they enjoyed the libertie and publick exercise of their religion: and to give the Mahometans their due, they are generally good-fellows in this point, and Christians amongst them may keep their consciences free, if their tongues be fettered not to oppose the doctrine of Mahomet. Sometimes they were under fierce and cruel affliction, their Bishops and Ministers forced to flie from their places were kept very poore, as alwayes the Clergie under persecution count that God gives them living enough, when he gives them their lives. Tyrius * mentioneth one memorable massacre, which they narrowly escaped. For a spitefull and malicious Saracen had secretly defiled one of their Mosques in Jerusalem; which deed being imputed to the poore Christians, they were all presently dragged to the place of execution to be put to death, when behold a young man, a zealous Christian, by an officious lie (the most lawfull of all unlawfull things) confessed himself alone to be guilty of the fact, and so being killed by exquisite torments, saved the lives of many innocents. In memorie of which act, the Christians in Jerusalem kept a constant solemnity, and once a yeare triumphantly marched with palms

* *Lib. 1. cap. 5.*

Anno Dom. 800.

palms in their hands into the citie, to perpetuate the remembrance of this deliverance. The longeſt vacation from perſecution they enjoyed, was when * Charles was Emperour of the Weſt, ſurnamed the Great: a ſurname which he did not ſteal, but juſtly win and deſerve; not like Pompey, who got the title of the Great, though as Ceſar obſerved he gained his chief fame for martiall feats, by conquering the weak and cowardly Bithynians. But this Charles, loved of his friends, feared of his foes, ſubdued the ſtrong and luſty Lombards: yet did he not Chriſtianitie more good by his warre, then by his peace concluded with Aaron Emperour of the Saracens, under whom the Chriſtians in Paleſtine obtained many priviledges and much proſperitie; though this weather was too fair to laſt long.

9

* *Tyrius, lib. 1. cap. 3.*

Suetonius, in Cæſare.

Chap. 7.

The originall and increaſe of the Turks; their conquering the Saracens, and taking of Jeruſalem.

BUt the Chriſtians in Paleſtine afterward changed their maſters, though not their condition, being ſubdued by the Turks. It will be worth our and the Readers pains to enquire into the originall of this nation, eſpecially becauſe (as the river Nilus) they are famous and well known for their overflowing ſtream, though hidden and obſcure for their fountain. Whence they firſt came authours onely do agree in diſagreeing: but moſt probable it is out of Scythia, * Pomponius Mela reckoning them among the inhabitants of that countrey nigh the river Tanais. This Scythia (ſince called Tartaria) was a virgin-countrey, never forced by forrein arms: for the Monarchs who counted themſelves conquerours of the world (by a large Synecdoche taking a ſixth part for the whole) never ſubdued it. Alexander ſent ſome troups to aſſault Naura and Gabaza, two out-counties thereof, as an earneſt that the reſt of his army ſhould follow: but hearing how theſe were wellcomed, willingly loſt his earneſt, and diſpoſed of his army otherwiſe. The Romane eagles flew not thus farre, and though heard of, were never ſeen here. The reaſons that made the Turks leave their native ſoyl, was the barrenneſſe thereof; and therefore the * Poet maketh famine (which ſometimes travelleth abroad into other countreys) here to have her conſtant habitation. And yet no doubt ſo vaſt a countrey would maintain her people, if the wildneſſe thereof were tamed with husbandry: But the people (ſcorning that their ground ſhould be better civilized

* *Lib. 1. cap. ult.*

* *Ovid. 8. Metam.*

10 then themselves) never manure it; and had rather provide their bread with the sword then with the plough. Other partiall causes might share in these Turks removall, but the cause of causes was the justice of God, to suffer this unregarded people to grow into the terrour of the world for the punishment of Christians: and we may justly hope, that when the correction is done the rod shall be burnt; especially finding already their force to abate, being at this day stopt with the half-kingdome of Hungarie, who formerly could not be stayed by the whole Empire of Greece. *Anno Dom.*

Sabell. Æn. 9. lib. 2. The first step these Turks took out of their own countrey was into Turcomania, a northern part of Armenia, conquered and so called by them: where they lived like the Scythian Nomades, alwayes wandring yet alwayes in their way, none claiming a propriety in the land as his, all defending the common interest therein as theirs. 844.

The next step was into Persia, whither they were called to assist Mahomet the Saracen Sultan against his enemies; where taking notice of their own strength, the Saracens cowardize, and the pleasure of Persia, they under Tangrolipix their first king overcame that large dominion. Then did the Turks take upon them the Mahometan religion, and having conquered the Saracens by their valour, were themselves subdued by the Saracen superstition. An accident more memorable becaus not easily to be paralleled (excepting king *Amaziah, who having taken Edom was took with the idolatry thereof) becaus conquerours commonly bring their religion into the places they subdue, and not take it thence. *Knolles, Tur. hist. pag. 4.* 1030 *2 Chron. 25. 14.

Their third large stride was into Babylon, the Caliph whereof they overcame. And shortly after under Cutlu-muses their second king, they wan Mesopotamia, the greatest part of Syria, and the citie of *Jerusalem. Mean time whilest these vultures (Turks and Saracens) pecked out each others eyes, the Christians (if they had husbanded this occasion) might much have advantaged themselves, and might have recovered their health by these contrary poysons expelling each other. But the Grecian Emperours given over to pleasure and covetousnesse, regarded not their own good, till at last the Turks devoured them; as (God willing) shall be shewed hereafter. As for those Christians who lived in Palestine under the Turks, they had no lease of their safetie, but were tenants at will for their lives and goods to these tyrants: though it rained not down-right, yet the storm of persecution hung over their heads; their minds were ever in torture, being on the rack of continuall fear and suspense; and Simon himself was no better then an honourable slave, though Patriarch of Jerusalem, as appeareth by his* letters of complaint. 1060 **Tyrius, lib. 1. cap. 7.* **Knolles Tur. hist. pag. 13.*

Chap.

Anno Dom.

Chap. 8.

The character of Peter the Hermite; his soliciting the Holy warre; the Councel at Clermont, and the successe thereof.

IT happened there came a pilgrime to Jerusalem called Peter, an Hermite, born at Amiens in France; one of a contemptible person: His silly looks carried in them a despair of any worth; and yet (as commonly the richest mines lie under the basest and barrenest surface of ground) he had a quick apprehension, eloquent tongue, and what got him the greatest repute, was accounted very religious. With him Simon the Patriarch of Jerusalem often treated, concerning the present miseries of the Christians under the Turks; what hope of amendment; and how the matter might secretly be contrived, that the Princes in Europe might assist and relieve them. Peter moved with the Patriarchs perswasions, the equitie and honourablenesse of the cause, and chiefly with a vision (as they say) from * heaven (wherein our Saviour himself appointed him his Legate, with a commission to negotiate the Christian cause)
1094 took the whole businesse upon him, and travelled to Rome to consult with Pope Urbane the second about the advancing of so pious a designe.

**Tyrius, lib. 1. cap. 12.*

Now, though many cry up this Hermite to have been so pretious a piece of holinesse, yet * some suspect him to be little better then a counterfeit, and a cloke-father for a plot of the Popes begetting: becaus the Pope alone was the gainer by this great adventure, and all other Princes of Europe, if they cast up their audit, shall find themselves losers: This with some is a presumption, that this cunning merchant first secretly imployed this Hermite to be his factour, and to go to Jerusalem to set on foot so beneficiall a trade for the Romish Church. As for the apparition of our Saviour, one may wonder that the world should see most visions when it was most blind; and that that age most barren in learning, should be most fruitfull in revelations. And surely had Peter been truly inspired by God, and moved by his Spirit to begin this warre, he would not have apostated from his purpose: so mortified a man would not have feared death in a good cause, as he did afterwards, and basely ran away at * Antioch. For when the siege grew hot, his devotion grew cold; he found a difference betwixt a voluntary fast in his cell, and a necessary and undispensable famine in a camp: so that being well hunger-pincht, this cunning companion who was the

** Vrsperg. Chron. pag. 227. Quem tamen postea multi hypocritam fuisse dicebant.*

** Sabell. Enn. 9. lib. 3. col. 357. Et Æmilius, Digest. Franc. pag. 123. in Philippo 1°.*

12 * Ut desertor signorum, fratrum commilitonúmq; proditor.

trumpet to sound a march to others, secretly sounded a retreat to himself, ran away from the rest of the Christians, and was shamefully brought back again for a * fugitive.

Anno Dom.

But to return to Pope Urbane, who was zealous in the cause to further it, and called a Councel at Clermont in France, where met many Princes and Prelates to whom he made a long oration; * Authours differ in the mould, but they agree in the metall, that it was to this effect: First, he bemoned the miseries of the Christians in Asia, and the vastation of those holy places. Jerusalem, which was once the joy of the whole earth, was now become the grief of all good men: the Chapell of Christs conception, at Nazareth; birth, at Bethlehem; buriall, on mount Calvarie; ascension, on mount Olivet, once the fountains of piety, were now become the sinks of all profaneness. Next, he encouraged the Princes in the Councel, to take arms against those infidels, and * to break their bonds in sunder, and to cast their cords farre from them, and (as it is written) to cast out the handmaid and her children. Otherwise, if they would not help to quench their neighbours houses, they must expect the speedy burning of their own, and that these barbarous nations would quickly overrun all Europe. Now to set an edge on their courage, he promised to all that went this voyage, a full remission of their sinnes & penance here, and the enjoying heaven hereafter. Lastly, thus concluded, * Gird your swords to your thighs, O ye men of might. It is our parts to pray, yours to fight; ours with Moses to hold up unwearied hands to God, yours to stretch forth the sword against these children of Amalek. Amen.

1095

It is above belief with what cheerfulness this motion, meeting with an active and religious world, was generally entertained; so that the whole assembly cried out, * God willeth it: A speech which was afterwards used as a fortunate watch-word in their most dangerous designes. Then took many of them a crosse of red cloth on their right shoulder, as a badge of their devotion: And to gain the favourable assistance of the Virgin Mary to make this warre the more happy, her * Office was instituted, containing certain prayers, which at Canonicall houres were to be made unto her. If fame, which hath told many a lie of others, be not herein belyed her self, the things concluded in this Councel, were the same night reported at impossible distance in the utmost parts of Christendome. What spirituall intelligencers there should be, or what echoes in the hollow arch of this world should so quickly resound news from the one side thereof to the other, belongeth not to us to dispute. Yet we find the * overthrow of Perseus brought out of Macedon to Rome in foure dayes; & fame (mounted no doubt on some Pegasus) in Domitians time, brought a report 2500 miles in one day.

Chap.

* *Sabell. Æn. 9. lib. 3. Tyrius, lib. 1. cap. 15. Baron. Anno 1095. W. Malmsb. lib. 4. cap. 2. All have several set orations.*

* *Baronius, in Anno 1095. col. 688.*

* *Baronius, in Anno 1096. col. 691.*

* *Sabell. Æn. 9. lib. 3. pag. 354.*

* *Baronius, tom. 11. pag. 692.*

* *Livius, lib. 45.*

Anno Dom.

Chap. 9.

Arguments for the lawfulneſſe of the Holy warre.

IT is ſtiffely canvaſed betwixt learned men, whether this warre was lawfull, or not. The reaſons for the affirmative are fetcht either from piety or policie: And of the former ſort are theſe.

1. All the earth is Gods land let out to tenants; but Judea was properly his demeſnes, which he kept long in his own hands for himſelf and his children. Now though the infidels had ſince violently uſurped it, yet no preſcription of time could prejudice the title of the King of Heaven, but that now the Chriſtians might be Gods champions to recover his intereſt.

2. Religion bindeth men to relieve their brethren in diſtreſſe, eſpecially when they implore their help, as now the* Chriſtians in Syria did; whoſe intreaties in this caſe, founded commands in the eares of ſuch as were piouſly diſpoſed.

* *Tyrius, lib. 1. cap. 11.*

3. The Turks by their blaſphemies and reproches againſt God and our Saviour, had diſinherited and deveſted themſelves of all their right to their lands; and the Chriſtians, as the next undoubted heirs, might ſeize on the forfeiture.

4. This warre would advance and increaſe the patrimony of Religion, by propagating the Goſpel, and converting of infidels. If any object that Religion is not to be beaten into men with the dint of ſword; yet it may be lawfull to open the way by force, for inſtruction, catechiſing, and ſuch other gentle means to follow after.

5. The beholding of thoſe ſacred places in Paleſtine would much heighten the adventurers devotion, and make the moſt frozen heart to melt into pious meditations.

6. *This enterpriſe was furthered by the perſwaſions of ſundry godly men, S. Bernard, and others. Now though a lying ſpirit may delude the prophets of Achab, yet none will be ſo uncharitable as to think God would ſuffer his own Michaiah to be deceived.

* *Bellarm. lib. 3. de Rom. Pont. cap. 17.*

7. * God ſet his hand to this warre, and approved it by many miracles which he wrought in this expedition, and which are ſo confidently and generally reported by credit-worthy writers, that he himſelf is a miracle that will not beleeve them.

* *Ibidem.*

Neither want there arguments derived from policie.

1. Paleſtine was a parcell of the Romane Empire, though ſince won by the Saracens: and though the Emperour of Conſtantinople could not recover his right, yet did he alwayes continue his claim, and now (as * appeared by his letters read in the Placentine Councel) Alexius requeſted theſe Princes of the Weſt to aſſiſt him in the recovery thereof.

* *Baronius, tom. 11. pag. 687.*

14

2. A preventive warre grounded on a juſt fear of an invaſion is lawfull: But ſuch was this Holy warre. And becauſe moſt ſtreſſe is laid on this argument, as the main ſupporter of the cauſe, we will examine and prove the parts thereof. *Anno Dom.*

Though umbrages and light jealouſies created by cowardly fanſies be too narrow to build a fair quarrel on; yet the lawfulneſſe of a preventive warre founded on juſt fear, is warranted by reaſon and the practice of all wiſe nations. In ſuch a caſe it is folly to do as countrey-fellows in a fenſe-ſchool, never ward a blow till it be paſt: but it is beſt to be before-hand with the enemie, leſt the medicine come too late for the maladie. In ſuch dangers to play an after-game, is rather a ſhift then a policie: eſpecially ſeeing warre is a tragedy which alwayes deſtroyeth the ſtage whereon it is acted; it is the moſt adviſed way, not to wait for the enemie, but to ſeek him out in his own countrey.

Now that the Mahometans (under whom the Turks and Saracens are comprehended, differing in nation, agreeing in religion and ſpite againſt Chriſtians) were now juſtly to be feared, cannot be denied. So vaſt was the appetite of their ſword, that it had alreadie devoured Aſia, and now reſerved Grecia for the ſecond courſe. The Boſporus was too narrow a ditch, and the Empire of Grecia too low an hedge to fenſe the Pagans out of Weſt-Chriſtendome: yea, the Saracens had lately waſted * Italy, pillaged and burned many churches neare Rome it ſelf, conquered Spain, inroded Aquitain, and poſſeſſed ſome iſlands in the mid-land-ſea. The caſe therefore ſtanding thus, this Holy warre was both lawfull and neceſſarie: which like unto a ſharp pike in the boſſe of a buckler, though it had a mixture of offending, yet it was chiefly of a defenſive nature, to which all preventive warres are juſtly reduced.

* *Sabell. Enn. 9. lib. 3. pag. 354.*

Laſtly, this warre would be the ſewer of Chriſtendome, and drain all diſcords out of it. For active men like mill-ſtones in motion, if they have no other griſt to grind, will ſet fire one on another. Europe at this time ſurfeted with people, and many of them were of ſtirring natures, who counted themſelves undone, when they were out of doing; and therefore they employed themſelves in mutuall jarres and contentions: But now this Holy warre would make up all breaches, and unite all their forces againſt the common foe of Chriſtianitie.

Chap.

Anno Dom.

Chap. 10.

Reasons againſt the Holy warre.

YEt all theſe reaſons prevail not ſo forcibly, but that * many are of the contrary opinion, and count this warre both needleſſe and unlawfull, induced thereunto with theſe or the like arguments.

1. When the Jews were no longer Gods people, Judea was no longer Gods land by any peculiar appropriation; but on the other ſide, God ſtamped on that countrey an indelible character of deſolation, and ſo ſcorched it with his anger, that it will never change colour, though Chriſtians ſhould waſh it with their bloud. It is labour in vain therefore for any to endeavour to reeſtabliſh a flouriſhing kingdome in a blaſted countrey: and let none ever look to reap any harveſt, who ſow that land which God will have to lie fallow.

2. Grant the Turks were no better then dogs, yet were they to be let alone in their own kennel. They and the Saracens their predeceſſours, had now enjoyed Paleſtine foure hundred and ſixty yeares: Preſcription long enough to ſodder the moſt crackt title, and not onely to corroborate but to create a right. Yea, God himſelf may ſeem herein to allow their title, by ſuffering them ſo long peaceably to enjoy it.

3. To viſit thoſe places in Jeruſalem (the theatre of ſo many myſteries and miracles) was as uſeleſſe as difficult; and might be ſuperſtitious if any went (as it is to be feared too many did) with placing tranſcendent holineſſe in the place, and with a wooden devotion to the materiall Croſſe. The * Angel ſent the women away from looking into the ſepulchre, with *He is riſen, he is not here*; and thereby did dehort them and us, from burying our affections in Chriſts grave, but rather to ſeek him where he was to be found. At this day a gracious heart maketh every place a Jeruſalem, where God may as well and as acceptably be worſhipped. S. Hilarion * though he lived in Paleſtine ſaw Jeruſalem but once, and then onely becauſe he might not ſeem to neglect the holy places for their nearneſſe and vicinitie. And S. Hierome (though himſelf lived at Bethlehem) diſſwaded Paulinus from coming thither; for the pains would be above the profit.

4. Laſtly, this warre was a quickſand to ſwallow treaſure, and of a hot digeſtion to devoure valiant men: no good, much evil came thereby; and the Chriſtians that went out to ſeek an enemie in Aſia, brought one thence, to the danger of all Europe, and the loſſe of a fair part thereof. For though

—*Careat*

* *Joh. Cammanus, De jure Majeſt. Theſ. 22. Et Albert. Aqu. Chro. Hieroſol. lib. 4. cap. 28. Et Reineccius in Præf. hiſt. Orient.*

* *Matth. 28. 6*

* *Hieron. tom. 1. pag. 103. in Epiſt. ad Paulinum.*

16

—Careat succesſibus opto,
Quiſquis ab eventu facta notanda putet:

—may he never ſpeed,
Who from the iſſue cenſures of the deed:

Anno Dom.

and though an argument fetcht from the ſucceſſe is but a cyphre in it ſelf, yet it increaſeth a number when joyned with others.

These reaſons have moved the moſt * moderate and refined Papiſts, and all Proteſtants generally in their judgements to fight againſt this Holy warre. But as for the opinion of Bibliander (who therein ſtands without company) if * Bellarmine hath truly reported it, it is as farre from reaſon, as charity; namely, that theſe Chriſtians that went to fight againſt the Saracens, were the very army of Gog and Magog ſpoken of by the prophet * Ezekiel. Yet muſt we not here forget, that ſuch as at this time went to Jeruſalem (whether ridiculouſly, or blaſphemouſly, or both, let others judge) did carry a * gooſe before them, pretending it to be the holy Ghoſt.

* *Vide Beſoldum, De regibus Hieroſ. pag. 99. & ſequentibus.*

* *Lib. 3. De Rom. Pont. cap. 17.*

* *Ezek. 38. 3.*

* *Aventinus, lib. 5. Annal.*

Chap. 11.

The private ends and profits of the Pope, which he is charged by authours to have had in this Holy warre.

IT is enough with ſome to make it ſuſpicious that there were ſome ſiniſter ends in this warre, becauſe Gregory the ſeventh, otherwiſe called Hildebrand (and by Luther, * *Larva diaboli*) the worſt of all that ſat in that chair, firſt began it: but death preventing him, Urbane the ſecond (whom Cardinall Benno called * Turbane for troubling the whole world) effected it. And though the pretenſes were pious and plauſible, yet no doubt the thoughts of his Holineſſe began where other mens ended, and he had a privie project beyond the publick deſigne;

* *In his Chronologie.*

* *Balæus, in Rom. Pont. in Urban. 2.*

Firſt, to reduce the * Grecians into ſubjection to himſelf with their three Patriarchs of Jeruſalem, Antioch, and Conſtantinople, and to make the Eaſtern Church a Chapell of eaſe to the Mother-Church of Rome.

* *Matt. Dreſſ. De bello ſacr. cited by Lampadius Mellific. hiſtor. part. 3. pag. 266.*

Secondly, this warre was the Popes houſe of Correction, whither he ſent his ſturdie and ſtubborn enemies to be tamed. Such high-ſpirited men whom he either feared or ſuſpected, he condemned to this employment, as to an honourable baniſhment: and as Saul being afraid of David ſent him to fight againſt the Philiſtines, that ſo he might fall by their ſword; ſo the Pope had

Anno Dom.

had this cleanly and unsuspected conveyance to * rid away those he hated, by sending them against infidels. This appeared most plainly in the matter of the Emperour himself, whom he sent from home, that so he might rob his house in his absence. At the beginning of this warre, the Popes temporall power in Italy was very slender, because the Emperours dominions did gird him close and hard on all sides: but soon after he grew within short time without all measure, and did lurch a castle here, gain a citie there from the Emperour, whiles he was imployed in Palestine: So that by the time that the Christians had lost all in Syria, the Emperour had lost all in Italy; his dominions there being either swallowed up by Peters patrimony, or by private Princes and upstart free-states, which as so many splinters flew out of the broken Empire.

17

* *See Daniel, in Henry the third, pag. 141.*

Thirdly, hereby the Pope determined on his side the gainfullest controversie that ever was in Christendome. This was about the investiture of Bishops, whether the right lay in the Pope or in secular Princes. Now his Holinesse diverted this question out of Princes heads, by opening an issue an other way; and gave vent to the activitie of their spirits in this martiall imployment, and in the mean time quietly went away without any corrivall, concluding the controversie for his own profit.

Lastly, he got a masse of money by it. He had the office to bear the bag, and what was put into it, as contributed to this action from pious people, and expended but some few drops of the showres he received. Guesse the rest of his griping tricks from this one which* Matth. Paris reporteth. First, he prompted many people in England unfit for arms, to take upon them a vow to go to the Holy warre, and this was done by the exhortation and preaching of the Friars. This done, he compelled and forced those Votaries (whose purses were more usefull for this service then their persons) to commute their journey into money, the payment whereof should be as meritorious as their pilgrimage. And thus scraped he a masse of coin from such silly people as thought themselves cleansed of their sinnes when they were wiped of their money, and who having made themselves slaves to the Pope by their rash vow, were glad to buy their libertie at his price.

* *Hist. Angl. pag. 702, & 703.* Diversis muscipulis simplicem Dei populum substantiâ suâ moliebatur Romana curia privare, nihil petens nisi aurum & argentum.

As the Pope, so most of the Clergie improved their estates by this warre: for the secular Princes who went this voyage, sold or morgaged most of their means (selling for gold to purchase with steel and iron) and the Clergy were generally their chapmen. For they advised these undertakers, seeing this action was for Christ and his Church, rather to make over their estates to spirituall men, of whom they might again redeem the same, and from whom they should be sure to find the fairest

18 dealing, then to lay-men. *Godfrey Duke of Bouillon sold that Dukedome to the Bishop of Liege; and the castle of Sartensy and Monsa, to the Bishop of Verdune. Baldwine his brother sold him the citie of Verdune. Yea, by these sales the* third part of the best feoffs in France came to be possessed by the Clergie; who made good bargains for themselves, and had the conscience to buy earth cheap, and to sell heaven deare. Yea, this voyage laid the foundation of their temporall greatnesse, till at last the daughter devoured the mother, and wealth impaired religion. *Anno Dom.*

** Æmilius, De gest. Fran. pag. 109.*
** Daniel, in Henry first, pag. 49.*

Chap. 12.

The qualitie and condition of those people who undertook the warre.

IT is not to be expected that all should be fish which is caught in a drag-net, neither that all should be good and religious people who were adventurers in an action of so large a capacitie as this warre was. We must in charitie allow, that many of them were truly zealous and went with pious intents. These were like to those of whom Bellarmine speaketh, who had no fault *præter nimiam sanctitatem*, too much sanctitie, which * a learned man interpreteth, too much superstition. But besides these well-meaning people, there went also a rabble-rout, rather for companie then conscience. * Debters took this voyage on them as an acquittance from their debts, to the defrauding of their creditours: Servants counted the conditions of their service cancelled by it, going away against their masters will: Theeves and murderers took upon them the crosse, to escape the gallows: Adulterers did penance in their armour. A lamentable case that the devils black guard should be Gods souldiers. And no wonder if the successe was as bad as some of the adventurers, especially seeing they retained their old conditions under a new climate. And (as if this voyage had been like to repentance, never too soon nor too late for any to begin) not onely green striplings unripe for warre, but also decayed men to whom age had given a writ of ease, became souldiers; and those who at home should have waited on their own graves, went farre to visit Christs sepulchre. And which was more, women (as if they would make the tale of the Amazons truth) went with weapons in mens clothes; a behaviour at the best immodest, and modesty being the case of chastitie, it is to be feared that where the case is broken, the jewel is lost. This enterprise was also the mother

** Whitaker, De eccl. contro. 2. cap. 11*

** Albert. Aqu. in Chron. Hierosal. lib. 1. cap. 2.*

Tyrius, lib. 1. cap. 16.

Anno Dom.

ther of much non-residence, many Prelates and Friars (fitter to handle a pen-knife then a sword) left their covents and pastorall charges to follow this businesse. The totall summe of those pilgrime-souldiers amounted to three hundred thousand; and * some writers do double that number. No doubt the Christians army had been greater, if it had been lesse: for the belly was too big for the head; and a medley of nations did rather burden then strengthen it. Besides, the armie was like a cloth of many colours, and more seams; which seams though they were curiously drawn up for the present, yet after long wearing began to be seen, and at last brake out into open rents. 19

* *Malmsb. lib.4.pag.133*

Chap. 13.

The adventurers sorted according to their severall nations.

THe French, Dutch, Italian, and English were the foure elementall nations whereof this army was compounded: of these the French were predominant; they were the cape-merchants in this adventure. That nimble nation first apprehended the project, and eagerly prosecuted it. As their language wanteth one proper word to expresse *Stand*, so their natures mislike a settled, fixed posture, and delight in motion and agitation of businesse: Yea, France (as being then best at leisure) contributed more souldiers to this warre then all Christendome besides. The signall men were, Hugh surnamed le Grand brother to the King of France, Godfrey Duke of Bouillon, Baldwine and Eustace his younger brethren, Stephen Earl of Bloys father to Stephen afterwards King of England, Reimund Earl of Tholouse, Robert Earl of Flanders, Hugh Earl of Saint-Paul, Baldwine de Burge, with many more; besides of the Clergie, Aimar Bishop of Puy and Legate to the Pope, and William Bishop of Orange.

Germanie is slandered to have sent none to this warre at this first voyage; and that other pilgrimes passing through that countrey, were mocked by the Dutch and called * fools for their pains. It is true, the Germane adventurers in number answered not the largenesse and populousnesse of their countrey: for Henry the Emperour (a Prince whom the Pope long hacked at, and hewed him off at last) * being desirous to go this voyage, was tied up at home with civill discords. Yet we find a competencie of souldiers of that nation, besides those under Godescalcus a Priest, Emmicho the Rhene-grave, and Count Herman their leaders. But though Germanie was backward at

* *Centurist. ex Vrsperg. cent. 11. col. 416.*

* *Pantaleon, De viris Ger. part. 2. pag. 139.*

Anno Dom.

20 the first, yet afterwards it proved the main Atlas of the warre: that nation like a heavie bell was long a raising, but being got up made a loud sound.

Italy sent few out of her heart and middle provinces nigh Rome. The Pope was loth to adventure his darlings into danger: those white-boyes were to stay at home with his Holinesse their tender father: Wherefore* he dispensed with them for going, as knowing how to use their help nearer, and to greater profit. Peters patrimonie must as well be looked to, as Christs sepulchre. But though the Pope would spend none of his own fewel, he burnt the best stakes of the Emperours hedge, and furthered the Imperiall partie to consume it self in this tedious warre. Out of the furthermost parts of Italie, Boemund Prince of Tarentum, and Tancred his nephew (both of the Normane seed, though growing on the Apulian soyl) led an army of twelve thousand men. And Lombardy was also very liberall of her souldiers towards this expedition.

*Daniel, in will. the second, pag. 49.

England (the Popes pack-horse in that age, which seldome rested in the stable when there was any work to be done) sent many brave men under Robert Duke of Normandy, brother to William Rufus; as Beauchamp, and others, whose names are lost. Neither surely did the Irish-mens feet stick in their bogs, though we find no particular mention of their atchievements.

Daniel, ut prius.

Spain had other use for her swords against the Saracens at home, and therefore sent none of her men abroad. As* one saith, The Spaniards did follow their own Holy warre; a work more necessary, and no lesse honourable. Thus they acted the same part, though not on the same stage with our Pilgrimes, as being also imployed in fight against the infidels.

**Æmilius, De gest. Fran. pag. 109.*

Poland had the same excuse for not much appearing clean through this warre; because she lieth bordering on the Tartars in her appendant countrey of Lituania, and therefore was busied in making good her frontiers. Besides, no wonder if Prussia, Lituania, and Livonia were not up in this service; for it was scarce break of day with them, and the sunne of the Gospel was newly (if at all) risen in those parts. Yea, Poland was so farre from sending men hither, that she fetcht them from hence, *and afterwards implored the aid of the Teutonick order, who came out of Palestine to assist her against her enemies.

* *Munster, Cosmogr.*

Hungary might bring filling-stones to this building, but few foundation or corner-stones, and at this time had no commander of note in this action.

Scotland also presenteth us not with any remarkable piece of service which her men performed in all this warre. It was not want of devotion, which was hot enough in that cold countrey: rather we may impute it to want of shipping, that countrey being

ing

Anno Dom.

ing little powerfull at sea: or (which is most probable) the actions of this nation are hidden, as wrapped up in the bundle with some others; I should guesse under the French, but the intimacie of those two people is of a farre later date.

Denmark and Norway neare-acquainted with the Arctick pole, though they lagged the last, (and may therein be excused becaus of the length of the way) were sharers in the honour of this imployment, and performed good sea-service.

Sweden either acted not at all, or else had a very short part in this businesse. That countrey being a separatist becaus of her remote situation, had little communion with other parts of Europe. And indeed histories are mute of Sweden, but that of late Gustavus his victorie hath put a tongue into them, and hath made that countrey famous to all posteritie.

Chap. 14.

The sad beginning of the warre.

1096 *Mar.* 8

THeir first setting forth was checked with bad succesſe. For Walter Sensaver a noble man (but what countrey-man it is unknown) * who had more of the sail of valour then balast of judgement, led forth an ill-grown and unproportioned armie, with many thousand foot, and * eight horsemen onely. But we must not think that this fowl should flie farre, whose wings were so short, and train so long. His men were routed and slain by the Bulgarians, and he himself through many miseries scarce recovered Constantinople. Peter the Hermite with his army went further to meet his own destruction. For after many difficulties having crossed the Bosporus, they came into Asia, and there found some cities forsaken by the Turks their inhabitants. This they imputed to their enemies fear, which proceeded from their policie: and therefore being more greedy to pillage, then carefull to fortifie the places they took, hunted after preys so long till they became one themselves. Hugh brother to the King of France, with his surname of the Great, had as little succesſe as the former; his armie being quickly abridged by the furious Bulgarians in their passage, and * he brought prisoner to Constantinople. Besides these, one Gotescalcus a Priest, a wolf in sheeps clothing, and Emmicho a tyrant-Prince neare the Rhene, led forth a rout of wicked people, who carried the badge of the Crosse, and served the devil under Christs liverie, killing and pillaging the poore Jews and other people in Germanie as they went. This made Coloman King of Hungarie, not onely denie them passage through his countrey (and no

July

* *Malmsb. lib. 4 pag. 133*

* *Calvisius, pag. 893. in Anno 1096.*

Æmilius, De gest. Fran. pag. 111.

* *Malmsb. lib. 4 pag. 133*

Urspergens. pag. 227, & 228.

22 wonder if he was loth to lodge those guests who were likely to rob their host) but also put most of them to the sword. Some suspected these beginnings to be but the bad breakfast to a worse dinner; and therefore abandoning their resolutions, returned home: others little moved hereat, conceived these first defeats to be but the clarifying of the Christian army from the dregs of base and ruder people. *Anno Dom.*

Chap. 15.

The Pilgrimes' arrivall at Constantinople, entertainment, and departure.

* *urspergens. pag.* 233. BUt now (to speak in my * authours phrase) the chaff being winnowed with this fanne out of Gods floore, the good grain began to appear. Godfrey Duke of Bouillon set forth, and marched through Hungary with an armie of civill and well-conditioned souldiers; so also did Boemund, Reimund, and Robert the Normane, whose setting forth bare diverse dates: and they embraced severall courses through sundry countreys; but the first Rendezvous where all met was at Constantinople. *Aug.* 15. *Dec.* 23.

This was no pleasant prospect to Alexius the Grecian Emperour, to see the sea full of ships, the shore of souldiers. He had gotten the Empire by bad practices (by deposing and cloistering Nicephorus his predecessour) and an ill conscience needeth no enemie but it self: for now he affrighteth himself with the fansie, that these Pilgrimes were so many pioners come to undermine him. Yea, he seemeth to have entailed his jealousies on all his successours; who never cordially affected this warre, but suspected that these Western Christians made but a false blow at Jerusalem, and meant to hit Constantinople. But though he had a storm in his heart, yet he made all fair weather in his face; and finding these his guests so strong that they could command their own welcome, he entertained them rather for fear then love. At last it was *covenanted betwixt them, that what countreys or cities soever (Jerusalem alone excepted) once belonging to this Grecian Empire, should be recovered by these Latines, should all be restored to Alexius; in lieu whereof he was to furnish them with armour, shipping, and all other warlike necessaries. Thus might that Emperour have much improved his estate by these adventurers; but he (like those who cannot see their own good for too stedfast looking on it) by his over-carefulnesse and causelesse suspicion, deprived himself of this benefit, and implunged himself in much just hatred for his unjust

* *M. Paris, pag.* 38.

Æmilius, De gest. Fran. pag. 112.

Anno Dom.

just dealing and treachery. Polybius (though a Grecian himself) yet thus painteth out his countreymen amongst the Greeks; If one should lend a talent, though he should have for it ten bonds, ten seals, and twice as many witnesses, yet the borrower will not keep his credit. It seems Alexius was one of this same faith, who though so solemnly engaged on his honour to perform this agreement so advantagious to himself, most unprincelike brake his word, and molested these Pilgrimes afterwards. 23 *Lib. 6. Vide Erasmum in Adagio, Græca fides.*

* Some question the discretion of these Princes in this agreement, to bargain to purchase Alexius his profit with their bloud, and conceive that they much under-valued themselves in swearing homage unto him; which onely * Robert Earl of Flanders (remembring that he was free-born and bred) refused to do: Yet they may herein be partly excused; for they apprehended it of absolute necessitie to gain this Emperours favour, on what price soever, because his countrey was the high-way through which they must passe. Besides, their zeal to be at their journeys end made them insensible of any future disadvantages, so be it they might have but present expedition to the place they were bound for. And we may also think that Alexius his liberall gifts had great efficacie in this matter, to win these Princes to his own desires. * *M. Paris, pag. 38.* * *Malmsb. pag. 137.*

Chap. 16.

The estate of Asia; siege, and taking of Nice; Turks overthrown in battel.

AT our last mentioning of the Turks and their victories, we left them possest of Jerusalem, and the greater part of Syria: but since they have thrived better, and won the lesser Asia from the Grecian Emperour. Indeed those Emperours with their own hands lifted up the Turks into their throne, and caused them thus speedily to conquer. For giving themselves over to pleasure, they gave little countenance, and lesse maintenance to men of service and action: whereby the martiall sparks in noble spirits were quenched; and no wonder if vertue did wither where it was not watered with reward. Secondly, out of covetousnesse the Emperours unfurnished their frontiers of garrisons, and laid them open to invasions; a notorious solecisme in policie: for if doores in private houses are to be locked, much more frontiers in kingdomes. Neither did it a little advantage the Turks proceedings, that the Grecian Empire fell to Eudoxia

24 Eudoxia a woman, and her children in minoritie, too weak pilots to steer so great a State in the tempest of warre. And though after other changes it fell to Alexius, one whose personall abilities were not to be excepted against; yet he being totally busied at home, to maintain his title against home-bred foes, had no leisure to make any effectuall resistance against forrein enemies. Nor did the death of Cutlen-Muses their king any whit prejudice the Turkish proceedings: for Solyman his sonne succeeded him, a Prince no lesse famous for his clemencie then his conquests; as victory to generous minds is onely an inducement to moderation. In this case under the tyrannie of the Turks stood Asia the lesse; and though there were many Christians in every citie, yet these being disarmed, had no other weapons then those of the Primitive Church, tears and prayers.

Anno Dom.

But now these Western Pilgrimes arriving there, besiege the citie of Nice with an armie as glorious as ever the sunne beheld. This citie was equally beholden to nature and art for her strength; and was formerly famous for the first generall Councel, called there by Constantine against Arius, wherein were assembled 318 Bishops. The Pilgrimes had a Lombard for their engineer; the neighbouring wood afforded them materials, whereof they made many warlike instruments, and hoped speedily to conquer the citie. But breathed deer are not so quickly caught. The Turks within being experienced souldiers, defeated their enterprises. And here one might have seen art promising her self the victory, and suddenly meeting with counter-art which mastered her. The lake Ascanius whereon the citie stood, having an out-let into the sea, much advantaged the besieged, whereby they fetcht victualls from the countrey, till at last that passage was locked up by the Grecian fleet. Soon after the citie was surrendred, on composition that the inhabitants lives and goods should be untouched; whereat the souldiers who hitherto hoped for the spoyl, now seeing themselves spoyled of their hope, shewed no small discontentment. Solymans wife and young children were taken prisoners, and the citie (according to the agreement) was delivered to Tatinus the Grecian Admirall in behalf of Alexius his master.

1097 *May* 14.

June 20.

From hence the Christians set forward to the vale of Dogorgan, when behold Solyman with all his might fell upon them, and there followed a cruel battel, fought with much courage and varietie of successe. A cloud of arrows darkened the skie, which was quickly dissolved into a showre of bloud. The Christians had many disadvantages: For their enemies were three to one; and valour it self may be pressed to death under the weight of multitude. The season was unseasonable; the scorching of the sunne much annoying these northern people, whilest the

Anno Dom.

the Turks had bodies of proof against the heat. Besides, the Christians horses affrighted with the barbarous sounds of the Turkish drummes, were altogether unserviceable. However, they bravely maintained their fight by the speciall valour and wisdome of their leaders (amongst whom Boemund, and Hugh brother to the King of France, deserved high commendations) till at last finding themselves overmatched, they began to guard their heads with their heels, and fairly ran away. When in came * Robert the Normane in the very opportunity of opportunitie. Much he encouraged them with his words, more with his valour, slaying three principall Turks with his own hands. This fight so inspirited the Christians, that coming in on fresh, they obtained a most glorious victorie. Two thousand on their side were slain, whereof William the brother of Tancred, Godfrey de Mont, and Robert of Paris were of speciall note. But farre greater was the slaughter of their enemies, especially after that Godfrey of Bouillon, who had been absent all the battel, came in with his army: yet they wanted a hammer to drive the victory home to the head, having *no horses to make the pursuit. Solyman flying away burned all as he went; and to prop up his credit, gave it out that he had gotten the day, pleasing himself to be a conquerour in report. This great battel was fought July the first; though some make it many dayes after: Yea, so great is the varietie of Historians in their dates, that every one may seem to have a severall clock of time, which they set faster or slower at their own pleasure: but as long as they agree in the main, we need not be much moved with their petty dissensions.

25

* *M. Paris, pag. 42. & H. Hunting. lib. 7. pag. 374*

* *W. Malmsb. pag. 138.*

July 1.

Chap. 17.

The siege and taking of Antiochia; Corboran overcome in fight; of Christs spear, and of holy fraud.

FRom hence with invincible industry and patience, they bored a passage through valleys, up mountains, over rivers, taking as they went the famous cities, Iconium, Heraclea, Tarsus, and conquering all the countrey of Cilicia. This good successe much* puffed them up; God therefore to cure them of the pleurisie of pride, did let them bloud with the long and costly siege of Antiochia. This citie watered by the river Orontes, and called Reblath of the Hebrews, was built by Seleucus Nicanor,

* *Vrspergens. pag. 233.*

26 and enlarged by Antiochus. Compaſſed it was with a double wall, one of ſquare ſtone, the other of brick; ſtrengthened with 460 towres, and had a caſtle on the Eaſt rather to be admired then aſſaulted. Here the profeſſours of our faith were firſt named * Chriſtians: and here S. Peter firſt ſat Biſhop, whoſe fair church was a Patriarchall ſeat for many hundred yeares after. Before this city the Pilgrimes army incamped, and ſtrongly beſieged it: but the Turks within manfully defending themſelves under Auxianus their captain, fruſtrated their hopes of taking it by force. The ſiege grew long, and victuals ſhort in the Chriſtians camp: and now * Peter the Hermite being brought to the touch-ſtone, diſcovered what baſe metall he was of; ran away with ſome other of good note, and were fetcht back again, and bound with a new oath to proſecute the warre. At laſt, one within the citie (though Authours agree neither of his name nor religion, ſome making him a Turk, others a Chriſtian; ſome calling him Pyrrhus, ſome Hemirpherrus, others Emipher) in the dead of the night betrayed the citie to Boemund. The Chriſtians iſſuing in, and exaſperated with the length of the ſiege, ſo remembred what they had ſuffered, that they forgot what they had to do, * killing promiſcuouſly Chriſtian citizens with Turks. Thus paſſions, like heavie bodies down ſteep hills, once in motion move themſelves, and know no ground but the bottom.

Antiochia thus taken, was offered to Alexius the Emperour; but he refuſed it, ſuſpecting ſome deceit in the tender; as bad men meaſure other mens minds by the crooked rule of their own. Hereupon it was beſtowed on Boemund; though this place dearly purchaſed was not long quietly poſſeſſed: For Corboran the Turkiſh Generall came with a vaſt armie of Perſian forces, and beſieged the Chriſtians in the citie, ſo that they were brought into a great ſtrait betwixt death and death, hunger within, and their foes without. Many ſecretly ſtole away, whereat the reſt were no whit diſcomfited, counting the loſſe of cowards to be gain to an armie. At laſt, they generally reſolved rather to loſe their lives by whole-ſale on the point of the ſword, then to retail them out by famine, which is the worſt of tyrants, and murdereth men in ſtate, whileſt they die in not dying. It did not a little encourage them, that they found in the church of S. Peter that * lance wherewith our Saviours bodie was pierced: They highly prized this militarie relique of Chriſt, as if by wounding of him it had got vertue to wound his enemies, and counted it a pawn of certain victorie. Whether this ſpear was truly found, or whether it was but invented to cozen men with, we will not diſpute: However, it wrought much with theſe Pilgrimes; for conceit oftentimes doeth

Anno Dom.

* *Acts* 11.26

Octob. 21.

* *Sabell. Enn. 9. lib. 5. pag. 357. Et Æmilius, in Philip the firſt, pag. 123.*

1098 *June* 3.

* *P. Æmil. pag. 127.*

* *Tyrius, lib. 6. cap. 14.*

Anno Dom. June 28.

doeth things above conceit, especially when the imagination apprehendeth something founded in religion. Marching forth in severall armies they manfully fell upon their enemies, and being armed with despair to escape, they sought to sell their lives at the deerest rate. Valour doth swell when it is crushed betwixt extremities; and then oftentimes goeth beyond her self in her atchievements. This day by Gods blessing on their courage they got a noble conquest. Some saw * S. George in the aire with an armie of white horses fighting for them; but these no doubt did look through the spectacles of fansie. And yet though we should reject this apparition, we need not play the Origens with the story of S. George, and change all the literall sense into an allegorie of Christ and his Church: for it is improbable that our English nation, amongst so many Saints that were, would choose one that was not, to be their patrone; especially seeing the world in that age had rather a glut then famine of Saints. 27

* *M. Paris, in Gulielmo secundo, pag. 57.*

And here let me advertise the Reader once for all, not to expect that I should set down those many * miracles wherewith Authours who write this warre so lard their stories, that it will choke the belief of any discreet man to swallow them. As the intent of these writers was pious, to gain credit and converts to the Christian faith, so the prosecuting of their project must be condemned, in thinking to grace the Gospel in reporting such absurd falsities. But let us know that heaven hath a pillorie, whereon *Fraus pia* her self shall be punished: and rather let us leave religion to her native plainnesse, then hang her eares with counterfeit pearls.

* Mundus senescens patitur phantasias falsorum miraculorum; propterea sunt nunc habenda miracula valde suspecta, *Gerson.*

The pride of the Turks being abated in this battel, and an 100000 of them being slain, the Christians grew mightily insolent, and forgot to return to God the honour of the victorie. Whereupon followed a great mortalitie, and 50000 died in few dayes; whether this proceeded from the climate (the bodies of Europe not being friends with the aire of Asia, til use by degrees reconcileth them) or whether it was caused by their intemperance: for after long fasting they would not measure their stomacks by the standard of physick, and dieting themselves till nature by degrees could digest the meat; but by surfeting digged their graves with their own teeth.

And now we are come to the skirts and borders of Palestine. Wherefore as Heralds use to blazon the field before they meddle with the charge, so let us describe the land before we relate the actions done therein. If in bowling they must needs throw wide, which know not the green or alley whereon they play; much more must they misse the truth in storie, who are unacquainted with that countrey whereon the discourse proceedeth.

28 Briefly therefore of the Holy land; as not intending to make a large and wide description of so short and narrow a countrey. *Anno Dom.*

Chap. 18.

A Pisgah-sight, or short survey of Palestine in generall; and how it might maintain 1300000 *men.*

PAlestine is bounded on the North with mount Libanus; West, with the mid-land-sea; South, with the wilderness of Paran, parting it from Egypt; and East, with the mountains of Gilead, and the river of Arnon. To give it the most favourable dimensions; From the foot of Libanus to Beersheba, North and South, may be allowed 210 miles: and from Ramoth-Gilead to Endor, East and West, seventie; which is the constant breadth of the countrey. In which compasse in Davids time were maintained * thirteen hundred thousand men, besides women, children, and impotent persons: and yet the tribes of * Benjamin and Levi were not reckoned. True this must needs be, for Truth hath said it: Yet is it wonderfull. For though the united Provinces in the Low-countreys maintain as many people in as little a plot of ground, yet they feed not on home-bred food; but have Poland for their granarie, the British ocean for their fish-pond, High-Germanie for their wine-cellar; and by the benefit of their harbours unlock the store-houses of all other countreys. It fared not thus with the Jews, whose own countrey fed them all. And yet the seeming impossibilitie of so many kept in so small a land will be abated, if we consider these particulars;

*2.Sam.24.9. 1.Chron.21.6

1. People in those hot countreys had not so hot appetites for the quantitie of the meat eaten, nor gluttonous palates for the varietie of it.

2. The countrey rising and falling into hills and vales, gained many acres of ground: whereof no notice is taken in a map; for therein all things presented are conceived to be *in plano*: And so the land was farre roomthier then the scale of miles doth make it.

3. They had pasturage to feed their cattel in, in out-countreys beyond Palestine. Thus the tribe of * Reuben grased their cattel east-ward, even to the river Euphrates.

*1.Chron.5. 9, 10.

4. Lastly, the soyl was transcendently fruitfull, as appeareth by that great* bunch of grapes carried by two men: For though many a man hath not been able to bear wine, it is much that one should be loaden with one cluster of grapes.

*Num.13.23.

If

Anno Dom.

If any object against the fruitfulnesse of this countrey; That there were many wildernesses therein, as those of Maon, Ziph, Carmel, Gibeon, Judah, and these must needs cut large thongs out of so narrow a hide: it is answered, That these wildernesses took up no great space, as probably being no bigger then our least forrests in England. As for the greater deserts, we must not conceive them to lie wholly waste, but that they were but thinly inhabited: for we find *six cities with their villages in the wildernesse of Judah.

29

* *Josh.* 15. 61.

Principall commodities of this countrey were,

1. Balm, which * wholly failed not long after our Saviours passion; whether because the type was to cease when the truth was come, or because that land was unworthy to have so sovereigne bodily physick grow in her, where the Physician of the soul was put to death.

* *Munster, in Terra sancta. pag.* 1017. *& in Ægypt. pag.* 1135.

2. Hony, and that either distilled by bees those little chymists (and the pasture they fed on was never a whit the barer for their biting) or else rained down from heaven, as that which * Jonathan tasted, when his sweet meat had like to have had sowre sauce, and to have cost him his life.

* 1. *Sam.* 14. 27.

Besides these, milk, oyl, nuts, almonds, dates, figs, olives: So that we may boldly say, no countrey had better sauce and better meat, having fowl, fish, in sea, lakes, and rivers; flesh of sheep, goats, bucks, and kine.

Mines of gold and silver with pearls and precious stones, Judea rather had not then wanted; either because God would not have his people proud or covetous; or because these are not essentiall to mans life; or because nature bestoweth these commodities in recompense on barren countreys.

Horses they had none but what they bought out of Egypt for service, using asses for burden, oxen for drawing, and mules for travel. And for many hundred yeares they used no horses in battel, till David took some from * Hadadezer. The greatest inconvenience of the land was that it had wild beasts; and their sheep were not securely folded like ours in England, which stand more in danger of men then wolves.

* 2. *Sam.* 8. 4.

The chief river of the countrey was Jordan: over which the Israelites passed on foot; afterwards Elijah made a bridge over it with his cloke: and our Saviour washed the water hereof, by being baptized in it. This ariseth from the springs of Jor and Dan; whence running south he enlargeth himself first into the waters of Merom, then into the lake of Genesareth or Tiberias; and hence recovering his stream, as if sensible of his sad fate, and desirous to deferre what he cannot avoid, he fetcheth many turnings and windings, but all will not excuse him from falling into the Dead sea. Authours are very fruitfull on the barrennesse

30 of this ſea (where Sodome once ſtood) writing how on the banks thereof grow thoſe hypocrite apples and well-complexioned duſt (the true emblemes of the falſe pleaſures of this world) which touched fall to aſhes. *Anno Dom.*

Chap. 19.

Galilee deſcribed.

PAleſtine contained foure provinces: Galilee on the north, Trachonitis beyond Jordan on the eaſt, Judea on the ſouth, and Samaria in the middle. Galilee was divided into the upper and lower. The upper (called alſo Galilee of the Gentiles, becauſe it bordered on them) comprehended the tribes of Aſher and Nephthali.

* *Joſh.* 11.8. Aſher entertaineth us with theſe obſervables: 1.*Miſrephothmajim, the Nantwich of Paleſtine, where ſalt was boyled. 2. Sarepta, where Elijah multiplied the widows oyl. 3. Tyre, anciently the Royall-Exchange of the world; but of this (as of Sidon and Ptolemais) largely hereafter. 4. Aphek, whoſe walls falling down gave both the death and grave-ſtones to 27000 of Benhadads ſouldiers. 5. Cana the great, whereof was that woman whoſe daughter Chriſt diſpoſſeſſed of a devil. 6. Belus, a rivulet famous for his glaſſie ſand. 7. Mount Libanus, whether ſo called (as our Albion) from his ſnowy top, or from frankincenſe growing thereon.

Nephthali, with theſe: 1. Abel-beth-maacha: In this borough Sheba that vermine earthed himſelf, till a womans wiſdome threw his head over the wals: And pitie it was thoſe wals ſhould have ſtood, if they had been too high to throw a traytours head over them. 2. Haroſheth, the citie of Siſera, who for all his commanding of 900 iron-chariots, was ſlain with one iron-nail. 3. Capernaum, where Chriſt healed the Centurions ſervant; and not farre off fed an army of gueſts with five loaves and two fiſhes: ſo that if we conſider what they ate, we may wonder that they left any thing; if what they left, that they ate any thing. 4. Kedeſh, a citie of refuge, whither they were to flie that killed men unawares. As for thoſe who formerly priviledged Sanctuaries in England, where the worſt traytours and wilfulleſt murderers were ſecure from puniſhment, they rather propounded Romulus then Moſes for their preſident. 5. Riblah, where King Zedekiah (more unhappy that he ſaw ſo long then that he was blind ſo ſoon) had his eyes put out, after he had beheld the ſlaughter of his ſonnes. 6. Ceſarea-Philippi, the chief citie of Decapolis; which was a ſmall territorie on both ſides

Anno Dom.

sides of Jordan, so called of ten cities it contained; though Authours wonderfully differ in reckoning them up. 7. Christs mount, so named because it was his pulpit, as the whole Law was his text, when he made that famous sermon in the mount. This Sunne of righteousnesse, which had all Palestine for his zodiack, the twelve tribes for his signes, stayed longest here and in Zabulon; and as S. Hierome * observeth, as these two tribes were first carried into captivitie, so redemption was first preached in these countreys. 31

**In 4. Matth.*

Lower Galilee consisted of Zabulon and Issachar. Zabulon presenteth us with Naim, where our Saviour raised the widows sonne, so that she was twice a mother, yet had but one child. 2. Cana the lesse, where he shewed the virginitie of his miracles at a marriage, turning water into wine. 3. Bethulia, where Judeth strook off Holofernes his head; though some since have strook off that story, not onely from canonicall scripture, but from truth. 4. Bethsaida, upbraided by Christ, famous for her great means, great ingratitude, great punishment. 5. Nazareth, where our Saviour had his conception and education. 6. Tiberias, so called by Herod the Tetrarch in the honour of Tiberius. 7. Mount Carmel, the Jewish Parnassus, where the Prophets were so conversant. 8. Tabor, where our Saviour was transfigured, the earnest of his future glory. 9. The river Kishon, Gods besome to sweep away Sisera's great armie.

In Issachar we find Tarichea, taken with great difficultie by Vespasian. 2. Shunem, where Elisha was so often entertained by an honourable woman. And as if this land had been thirsty of bloud, here in this tribe were fought the battels of Gideon against the Midianites, Jehu against Jehoram, Saul against the Philistines upon mount Gilboa. David therefore cursed that mountain that neither dew nor rain should fall on it. But of late some English travellers climbing this mountain were well wetted, David not cursing it by a propheticall spirit, but in a poeticall rapture.

Chap. 20.

The description of Samaria.

SAmaria contained half Manasses on this side Jordan, and the tribe of Ephraim. In the former we meet with Bethshean, on the walls whereof the Philistines hanged Sauls body. 2. Tirzah, where Zimri (whose onely goodnesse was, that he reigned but seven dayes) burned himself and the Kings palace. 3. Thebez,

32 3. Thebez, where Abimelech, prodigall of his life, but niggardly of his reputation, not so pained with his death, as angry with his killer (because a woman) would needs be killed again by his armour-bearer. 4. Megiddo, where Josiah that bright sunne set in a cloud, engaging himself in a needlesse quarrel, wherein he was slain. 5. Cesarea-Stratonis, where Herod was eaten up with worms. 6. Jezreel, a royall citie of the Kings of Israel, nigh which lay the vineyard or rather bloud-yard of Naboth. *Anno Dom.*

Ephraim was adorned with Samaria the chief citie of Israel, which at this day sheweth more ruines then Jerusalem. 2. Shiloh, where the Ark was long leiger; and where Eli heart-broken with bad news, brake his neck with a fall. 3. Sichem, where Dinah bought the satisfying of her curiositie with the losse of her chastitie. And as if the ground here were stained with perfidiousnesse, here Simeon and Levi killed the Sichemites, Joseph was sold by his brethren, Abimelech usurped the government, the ten tribes revolted from Rehoboam. 4. Mount Ephraim, a ridge of hills crossing this countrey. 5. Gerizzim and Ebal, two mountains: the blessings were pronounced on the one, and the curses on the other.

Chap. 21.

Judea surveyed.

Judea compriſed the tribes of Benjamin, Dan, Simeon, and Judah. Benjamin flouriſhed with Gilgal, where Joſhua circumciſed the Iſraelites. They hitherto had been fellow-commoners with the Angels, feeding on manna, which here ceaſed; God withdrawing miracles where he afforded means. 2. Gibeon, whoſe inhabitants cozened Joſhua with a paſſe of falſedated antiquitie: Who would have thought that clouted ſhoes could have covered ſo much ſubtilty? Here Joſhua ſent his mandate to the ſunne to ſtand ſtill, and to wait on him whileſt he conquered his enemies. 3. Nob, where Doeg, more cruel then the Kings cattel he kept, ſlew eighty five Prieſts as innocent as their ephods were white. 4. Jericho, whoſe walls were battered down with the ſound of rammes horns. 5. Bethel, where God appeared to Jacob. 6. Ai, where the Iſraelites were ſlain for the ſacriledge of Achan.

Dan had theſe memorables. 1. Joppa a ſafe harbour, where Jonah fled from Gods ſervice. 2. Aſhdod or Azotus, where Dagon did twice homage to the Ark, not onely falling bare, but put-

Anno Dom.

ting off his head and hands. 3. Gath, a ſeminary of giants, where Goliath was born. 4. Ekron, where Beelzebub the God of flies had a neſt or temple. 5. Timnath, where Judah committed inceſt with Tamar, but betrayed himſelf by his own tokens, and beat himſelf with his own ſtaff. Hence Samſon fetcht his wife, whoſe *epithalamium* proved the dirge to ſo many Philiſtines. 6. Modin, where the Maccabees were buried. 7. Sorek, the chief if not onely rivulet of this tribe.

Entring on the ſouth-coaſts of Simeon, we light on Askelon, where Herod was born. 2. Gaza, chief of the five Satrapies of the Philiſtines, the gates whereof Samſon carried away; and hither being ſent for to make ſport in the houſe of Dagon, acted ſuch a tragedie that plucked down the ſtage, ſlew himſelf and all the ſpectatours. 3. More inland; Ziklag, aſſigned by Achiſh to David. 4. Beerſheba and Gerar, where Abraham and Iſaac lived moſt conſtantly, neare unto the brook of Beſor.

The tribe of Judah was the greateſt of all, ſo that Simeon and Dan did feed on the reverſion thereof, and received thoſe cities which originally belonged to this royall tribe. Memorable herein were 1. Hebron, the land whereof was given to Caleb, becauſe he and Joſhua conſented not to the falſe verdict which the jurie of ſpies brought in againſt the land of Canaan. 2. Nigh, in the cave of Machpelah, the Patriarchs were buried; whoſe bodies took livery and ſeaſin in behalf of their poſteritie, which were to poſſeſſe the whole land. 3. Kirjath-ſepher or Debir, an ancient Univerſitie of the Canaanites: for though Parnaſſus was onely in Greece, yet the Muſes were not confined to that countrey. 4. Tekoa, where Amos was born, fetcht from the herdſmen, to feed Gods ſheep; and to dreſſe his vine, from gathering wild-figs. 5. Zoar, Lots refuge; neare to which his wife for one farewell-glance at Sodome, was turned into a pillar of ſalt, to ſeaſon us to meaſure a ſinne by the infiniteneſſe of God who forbiddeth it. Adjoyning is Lots cave; where he affecting ſolitarineſſe, had too much company of his own daughters. 6. Carmel, where Nabal lived as rich as fooliſh; but thoſe grains of wiſdome which were wanting in him, were found over-weight in his wife. Here Uzziah paſtured his cattel, a King, yet delighted in husbandry; as thrift is the fewel of magnificence. 7. Bethlehem, where our Saviour was born. 8. Jeruſalem, whereof afterwards.

Anno Dom.

Chap. 22.

Of Trachonitis.

WE want one adequate word of a countrey to expreſſe the tribes of Reuben, Gad, and half-Manaſſes beyond Jordan. Trachonitis cometh the neareſt, ſo called becauſe it riſeth up in ſharp hills, which are known to Ptolemie by the name of Hippus; to Strabo, of Trachones; but in Scripture, of mount Hermon, or Gilead.

Reuben, though disinherited of the birth-right, had this honour of an elder brother, that he was firſt provided for. His chief places, Heſhbon, and Medeba, and Macherus, the ſtrongeſt in-land citie in that part of the world. Mount Abarim, a chain of hills, the higheſt whereof was Nebo; the top-cliff of Nebo, Piſgah; whence Moſes viewed the land: hereabouts the Angel buried him, and alſo buried his grave, leſt it ſhould occaſion idolatry. The river Arnon parteth this tribe from Moab.

In Gad, we find Peniel where Jacob wreſtled with God; loſt a ſinew, but got a bleſſing: Jabeſh-gilead, where Saul was buried: Ramoth-gilead, where Ahab was ſlain: Rogelim, the mannour of Barzillai, ſuperannuated to be a courtier: Mahanaim, where the Angels appeared to Jacob: The forreſt of Ephraim, where that execution was done by Jephthah on the Ephraimites, for not pronouncing that heavie aſpiration in Shibboleth: The river Jabbok.

In Manaſſes, Edrei the citie of Og, on whoſe giant-like proportion the Rabbines have more giant-like lies: Gadara, whoſe inhabitants loved their ſwine better then their Saviour. They that deſire to be further informed of Canaan, let them ſpare pains to ſtrike fire, and light their candle at Sir Walter Raleghs torch.

Chap. 23.

The deſcription of the citie of Jeruſalem; the obſervables within, and about her.

JEruſalem by the often change of her fortunes, hath ſomewhat altered her ſituation, having hitched her ſelf more north-weſt-ward. For the mountain of Calvarie, which formerly ſhe ſhut out of her gates, as the infamous place of execution, ſhe now

Anno Dom.

now embraceth within her walls as her moſt venerable monument. 35

On the ſouth of Jeruſalem (once part of her, now excluded) lieth mount Sion, famous anciently for the palace of David: On the eaſt, mount Olivet, parted with the vale of Jehoſhaphat; which (ſome will have) ſhall be the hall for the great Aſſizes of the world at the day of judgement, whileſt others more modeſtly conceive that the place as well as the time is concealed. On the weſt, the hill of Gihon: And on the north it is indifferent plain.

The monuments which are ſtill extant to be ſeen without or within the citie, are reduceable to one of theſe three ranks. 1. Certainly true; as the mountains compaſſing it, which are ſtandards too great and too heavie for either time or warre to remove: and ſuch alſo are ſome eminent particulars of ſome places, which conſtant tradition without rupture hath entailed on poſteritie. 2. Of a mixt nature; where the text is true, but ſuperſtition and fanſie have commented on it. 3. Stark lies, without a rag of probabilitie to hide their ſhame; where the beleever is as fooliſh as the inventer impudent. We will bundle them together, and let the Reader ſort them at his diſcretion: for it is as hard to fit the throats as to pleaſe the palates of men; and that will choke one mans belief which another will ſwallow as eaſily credible. Neither let any cenſure this diſcourſe as a parentheſis to this hiſtory, ſeeing that to ſee theſe reliques was one principall motive with many to undertake this pilgrimage.

To begin without the citie; On the ſouth there remain the ruines of Davids palace, too neare to which was Uriahs houſe; and the *fountain is ſtill ſhewed where Bathſheba's waſhing of her bodie occaſioned the fouling of her ſoul. Next, Davids tombe is to be ſeen wherein he was buried: his monument was inriched with a maſſe of treaſure, ſaith Joſephus: out of which Hircanus 850 yeares after took three thouſand talents. But ſurely David who deſpiſed riches in his life, was not covetous after his death: And I am ſure they are his own words, that * *Man ſhall carry nothing away with him, neither ſhall his great pomp follow him.* Thirdly, Aceldama that burying-place for ſtrangers: and the grave that every where hath a good ſtomack, hath here a *boulimia* or greedy worm; for it will devoure the fleſh of a corpſe in 48 houres. Fourthly, Abſaloms pillar, which he built to continue his memorie, though he might have ſaved that coſt, having eternized his infamy by his unnaturall rebellion. Fifthly, the houſes of Annas and Caiaphas, to paſſe by others of inferiour note.

* *Moriſons Trav. part. 1. pag. 226.*

* *Pſal. 49. 17.*

On the eaſt; Firſt, mount Olivet, from whence our Saviour took

36 took his rise into heaven. The chapell of Ascension, of an eight-square round mounted on three degrees, still challengeth great reverence; and there the footsteps of our Saviour are still to be seen, which cannot be covered over. Secondly, the fig-tree which Christ cursed: for he who spake many, here wrought a parable; this whole tree being but the bark, and Christ under it cursing the fruitlesse profession of the Jews. Thirdly, the place where S. Stephen was stoned; and the stones thereabouts are over-grown with a red rust, which is (forsooth) the very bloud of that holy martyr. Fourthly, the place where Judas surprised our Saviour, and he fell down on a stone, in which the print of his elbows and feet are still to be seen. Fifthly, the sepulchre of the blessed Virgin: whose body after it had been three dayes buried, was carried up by the Angels into heaven; and she let fall her * girdle to S. Thomas, that his weak faith might be swaddled therewith: otherwise he who in the point of Christs resurrection would have no creed, except he made his own articles, and put his finger into his side, would no doubt hardly have beleeved the Virgins assumption. With this legend we may couple another, which though distant in place will be beleeved both together: They shew at *Bethlehem a little hole over the place where our Saviour was born, through which the starre which conducted the wise-men fell down to the ground. But who will not conclude but there was a *vertigo* in his head, who first made a starre subject to the falling-sickness? Sixthly, the vale of Hinnom or Tophet, in which wise Solomon befooled by his wives, built a temple to Moloch. Seventhly, Cedron, a brook so often mentioned in Scripture. *Anno Dom.*

* *Sandys, pag.* 190.

* *Bidulphs Trav. pag.* 130 *& Morisons, part.* 1. *pag.* 227.

The west and north-sides of Jerusalem were not so happily planted with sacred monuments; and we find none thereon which grew to any eminencie.

We will now lead the Reader into Jerusalem: Where first on mount Moriah (the place where Isaac was offered, though not sacrificed) stood Solomons temple, destroyed by the Chaldeans, rebuilt by Zorobabel: Afterward Herod reedified it so stately (saith Josephus) that it exceeded Solomons temple; if his words exceed not the truth. But no wonder if he that never saw the sunne, dare say that the moon is the most glorious light in the heavens. Secondly, Solomons palace, which was *thirteen yeares in building, whereas the temple was finished in *seven: Not that he bestowed more cost and pains (because more time) on his own then on Gods house: but rather he *plied Gods work more throughly, and entertained then more builders; so that contrary to the proverb, Church-work went on the most speedily. Thirdly, the house of the forrest of Lebanon, which was (as appeareth by comparing the text) fourtie cubits longer,

* 1. *King.* 7. 1.

* 1. *King.* 6. 38.

* *Vide Tremel. in locum.*

Anno Dom.

longer, and thirtie cubits broader then the temple it ſelf. But no doubt the holy Spirit ſpeaking of holy buildings, meaneth the great cubit of the Sanctuary; but in other houſes, the ordinary or common cubit. It was called the houſe Lebanon, becauſe hard by it Solomon planted a * grove, the abridgement of the great forreſt; ſo that the pleaſures of ſpacious Lebanon were here written in a leſſe character. Fourthly, Pilates palace, and the Common hall, where the Judge of the world was condemned to death. Fifthly, the pool of Bethesda, the waters whereof troubled by the Angel were a *Panpharmacon* to him that firſt got into them. Here was a ſpittle built with five porches, the mercy of God being ſeconded by the charitie of man; God gave the cure, men built the harbour for impotent perſons. Sixthly, the houſe of Dives the rich glutton: and therefore (ſaith * Adricomius) it was no parable: But may we not retort his words? It was a parable; and therefore this is none of Dives his houſe. Sure I am, Theophylact is againſt the literall ſenſe thereof, and ſaith, They think * fooliſhly that think otherwiſe.

* *Adricom. ex Hieron. pag. 153.*

* *Theatr. Terr. ſanct. 153.*

* ἀνοήτως, *Comment. in 16. Luc.*

But my diſcourſe haſteth to mount Calvarie; which at this day hath almoſt ingroſſed all reverence to it ſelf. It is called Calvarie, Golgotha, or the place of a ſcull, either becauſe the hill is rolled and * rounded up in the faſhion of a mans head, (as * *Pen* in the Britiſh tongue ſignifieth both an head, and a copped hill) or becauſe here the bodies of ſuch as were executed were caſt. As for that conceit, that Adams ſcull ſhould here be found, it is confuted by S. Hierome, who will have him buried at Hebron. Neither is it likely, if the Jews had a tradition that the father of mankind had here been interred, that they would have made his ſepulchre their Tiburn where malefactours were put to death, and the charnel-houſe where their bones were ſcattered. Over our Saviours grave ſtood a ſtately church, built ſay ſome by Helen, ſay others by Conſtantine: but we will not ſet mother and ſonne at variance; it might be ſhe built it at his coſt. In this church are many monuments: As the pillar whereunto Chriſt was bound when ſcourged; wherein red ſpots of dusky-veined marble * uſurped the honour to be counted Chriſts bloud. Secondly, a great cleft in the rock which was rent in ſunder at the Paſſion, whereby the bad thief was divided from Chriſt (the ſigne of his ſpirituall ſeparation) and they ſay it reacheth to the centre of the earth: a thing hard to confute. Thirdly, certain pillars which being in a dark place under ground, are ſaid miraculouſly to weep for our Saviours ſuffering. But I referre thoſe who deſire the criticiſmes of theſe places without going thither, to read our Engliſh travellers: for in this caſe as good wares and farre cheaper peny-worths are bought at the ſecond hand.

* *Illyricus, in 27. Matth.*

* *Cambdens Brit. in Buckinghamſhire.*

* *Bridenb. De Domin. ſepulcro.*

38

To conclude our description of Palestine, let none conceive that God forgot the Levites in division of the land, because they had no entire countrey allotted unto them. Their portion was as large as any, though paid in severall summes: They had 48 cities with their suburbs, tithes, first-fruits, free-offerings; being better provided for then many English ministers, who may preach of hospitalitie to their people, but cannot go to the cost to practice their own doctrine. *Anno Dom.*

A table shewing the varietie of places names in Palestine.

	In the old Testament.	*At Christs time.*	*In S. Hieromes time.*	*At this day.*	
1	Azzah.	Gaza.	Constantia.	Gazra.	a
2	Japho.	Joppa.		Jaffa.	b
3	Ramah.	Arimathea.		Ramma.	c
4	Shechem.	Sychar.	Neapolis.	Peloſa.	d
5		Lydda.	Diospolis.		
6	Capharsalama	Antipatris.		Assur.	e
7	Zarephath.	Sarepta.		Saphet.	f
8		Emmaus.	Nicopolis.		
9	Bethsan.		Scythopolis.		
10	Tzor.	Tyrus.		Sur.	g
11	Laish. Dan. Leshem.	Cesarea-Philippi	Paneas.	Belina.	h
12	Jerusalem.	Hierosolyma.	Ælia.	Cuds.	i
13	Samaria.	Samaria.	Sebaste.		
14	Cinnereth. k	Tiberias.		Saffet.	l
15	Accho.	Ptolemais.		Acre.	
16	Gath.		Dio-Cesarea	Ybilin.	m
17	Dammesek.	Damascus.		Sham.	n
18	Arnon.		Areopolis.	Petra.	o
19	Rabbah.	Philadelphia.			
20	Waters of Merom.	Semochonite lake.		Houle.	p

a *Sandys, pag.149.* b *Adricom. pag.23.* c *Morison, pag.216.* d *Ralegh, pag.311.* e *Adricom. pag.70.* f *Ralegh, pag.283.* g *Sandys, pag.216.* h *Ralegh, pag.291.* i *Sandys, pag.155.* k *Adricom. pag.143.* l *Sandys, pag.212.* m *Adricom. pag.22.* n *Bidulph, pag.94.* o *Adricom. pag.32.* p *Sandys, pag.212.*

Chap. 24.

The siege and taking of Jerusalem.

BY this time cold weather (the best besome to sweep the chambers of the aire) had well cleared the Christians camp from

Anno Dom. 1098 *Dec.* 11. 1099

from infection: and now their devotion moved the ſwifter, being come neare to the centre thereof, the citie of Jeruſalem. Forward they ſet, and take the citie of Marrha, and imploy themſelves in ſecuring the countrey about them, that ſo they might clear the way as they went. Neither did the diſcords betwixt Reimund and Boemund much delay their proceedings, being in ſome meaſure ſeaſonably compounded; as was alſo the ſea-battel betwixt the Piſans and Venetians. For the Venetians ſeeing on the Piſans the * cogniſance of the Croſſe, the uncounterfeited paſport that they wear for the Holy warre, ſuffered them ſafely to go on, though otherwiſe they were their deadly enemies; yea, and ſet five thouſand of them at libertie, whom they had taken captive.

39

* *Sabellicus, Enn. 9. lib. 3. pag. 357.*

April 10. *May* 29

The Pilgrimes kept their Eaſter at Tripoli, Whitſuntide by Ceſarea-Stratonis, taking many places in their paſſage; and at laſt came to Jeruſalem. Diſcovering the citie afarre off, it was a prettie ſight to behold the harmonie in the difference of expreſſing their joy; how they clothed the ſame paſſion with diverſe geſtures: ſome proſtrate, ſome kneeling, ſome weeping; all had much ado to manage ſo great a gladneſſe. Then began they the ſiege of the citie on the north (being ſcarce aſſaultable on any other ſide by reaſon of ſteep and broken rocks) and continued it with great valour. On the fourth day after, they had taken it but for want of ſcaling-ladders. But a farre greater want was the defect of water, the ſprings being either ſtopped up or poyſoned by the Turks; ſo that they fetcht water * five miles off. As for the brook Cedron, it was dried up, as having no ſubſiſtence of it ſelf, but merely depending on the benevolence of winter-waters, which mount Olivet beſtoweth upon it. Admirall Coligni was wont to ſay, He that will well paint the beaſt *Warre*, muſt firſt begin to ſhape the belly; meaning that a good Generall muſt firſt provide victuals for an armie: Yea, let him remember the bladder in the beaſts belly as well as the guts, and take order for moiſture more eſpecially then for meat it ſelf; thirſt in northern bodies being more unſupportable then famine: Quickly will their courage be cooled, who have no moiſture to cool their hearts. As for the Chriſtians want of ladders, that was quickly ſupplied: for the Genoans arriving with a fleet in Paleſtine, brought moſt curious engineers, who framed a wooden towre, and all other artificiall inſtruments. For we muſt not think, that the world was at a loſſe for warre-tools before the brood of guns was hatched: It had the * battering ramme, firſt found out by Epeus at the taking of Troy; the *baliſta* to diſcharge great ſtones, invented by the Phenicians; the *catapulta*, being a ſling of mighty ſtrength, whereof the Syrians were authours: and perchance

June 6. *June* 10.

* *Æmilius, pag. 135.*

* *Plin. Nat. hiſt. lib. 7. cap. 56.*

40 *2. Chron. 26. 15.

perchance King * Uzziah firſt made it; for we find him very dextrous and happy in deviſing ſuch things. And although theſe bear-whelps were but rude and unſhaped at the firſt, yet art did lick them afterwards, and they got more teeth and ſharper nails by degrees; ſo that every age ſet them forth in a new edition, corrected and amended. But theſe and many more voluminous engines (for the ramme alone had an hundred men to manage it) are now virtually epitomized in the cannon. And though ſome may ſay, that the finding of gunnes hath been the loſing of many mens lives, yet it will appear that battels now are fought with more expedition, and victory ſtandeth not ſo long a neuter, before ſhe expreſſe her ſelf on one ſide or other.

Anno Dom.

But theſe gunnes have ſhot my diſcourſe from the ſiege of Jeruſalem: To return thither again. By this time, in the ſpace of a * moneth, the Genoans had finiſhed their engines which they built * ſeven miles off: for nearer there grew no ſtick of bigneſſe. I will not ſay, that ſince our Saviour was hanged on a tree, the land about that city hath been curſed with a barrennes of wood. And now for a preparative, that their courage might work the better, they began with a faſt, and a ſolemn proceſſion about mount Olivet.

July 11.

July 12.

* *M. Paris, pag. 63.* * *P. Æmylius, pag. 135. & Tyrius, lib. 8. cap. 6.*

Next day they gave a fierce aſſault; yea, * women played the men, and fought moſt valiantly in armour. But they within being fourtie thouſand ſtrong, well victualled and appointed, made ſtout reſiſtance, till the night (accounted but a foe for her friendſhip) umpired betwixt them, and abruptly put an end to their fight in the midſt of their courage.

July 13.

* *Tyrius, lib. 8. cap. 13.*

When the firſt light brought news of a morning, they on afreſh; the rather, becauſe they had * intercepted a letter tied to the legs of a dove (it being the faſhion of that countrey both to write and ſend their letters with the wings of a * fowl) wherein the Perſian Emperour promiſed preſent ſuccours to the beſieged. The Turks caſed the outſide of their walls with bags of chaff, ſtraw, and ſuch like pliable matter, which conquered the engines of the Chriſtians by yeelding unto them. As for one ſturdie engine whoſe force would not be tamed, they brought * two old witches on the walls to inchant it: but the ſpirit thereof was too ſtrong for their ſpells, ſo that both of them were miſerably ſlain in the place.

* *P. Æmylius, pag. 136.*

* *The manner ſet down at large, Bidulphs Trav. pag. 43.*

* *Tyrius, lib. 8. cap. 15.*

The day following, Duke * Godfrey fired much combuſtible matter, the ſmoke whereof (the light cauſe of an heavie effect) driven with the wind, blinded the Turks eyes; and under the protection thereof the Chriſtians entred the citie: Godfrey himſelf firſt footing the walls, and then his brother Euſtace. The Turks retired to Solomons temple (ſo called becauſe

July 15.

* *Idem, lib. 8. cap. 18.*

Anno Dom.

becauſe built in the ſame place) there to take the farewell of their lives. In a deſperate conflict there, the foremoſt of the Chriſtians were miſerably ſlain, thruſt upon the weapons of their enemies by their fellows that followed them. The pavement ſo ſwam, that none could go but either through a rivulet of bloud, or over a bridge of dead bodies. Valour was not wanting in the Turks, but ſuperlatively abundant in the Chriſtians, till night made them leave off. Next morning mercie was proclaimed to all thoſe that would lay down their weapons: For though bloud be the beſt ſauce for victorie, yet muſt it not be more then the meat. Thus was Jeruſalem wonne by the Chriſtians, and *twentie thouſand Turks therein ſlain, on the fifteenth of July being Friday, about three of the clock in the afternoon. *Tyrius findeth a great myſterie in the time; becauſe Adam was created on a Friday, and on the ſame day and houre our Saviour ſuffered. But theſe Synchroniſmes, as when they are naturall they are pretty and pleaſing; ſo when violently wreſted, nothing more poore and ridiculous.

** M. Paris, pag.65.*

** Lib.8.cap. 18.*

Then many Chriſtians, who all this while had lived in Jeruſalem in moſt lamentable ſlaverie, being glad to lurk in ſecret (as truth oftentimes ſeeketh corners as fearing her judge, though never as ſuſpecting her cauſe) came forth joyfully, wellcomed and embraced theſe the procurers of their liberty.

July 18.

Three dayes after it was concluded, as a neceſſarie piece of *ſeveritie for their defenſe, to put all the Turks in Jeruſalem to death; which was accordingly performed without favour to age or ſex. The pretenſe was for fear of treaſon in them, if the Emperour of Perſia ſhould beſiege the citie. And ſome ſlew them with the ſame zeal wherewith Saul ſlew the Gibeonites; and thought it unfit that theſe goats ſhould live in the ſheeps paſture. But noble Tancred was highly diſpleaſed hereat, becauſe done in cold bloud, it being no ſlip of an extemporany paſſion, but a ſtudied and premeditated act; and that againſt pardon proclaimed, many of them having compounded and paid for their lives and libertie. Beſides, the execution was mercileſſe, upon ſucking children, whoſe not-ſpeaking ſpake for them; and on women, whoſe weakneſſe is a ſhield to defend them againſt a valiant man. To conclude; Severitie hot in the fourth degree, is little better then poyſon, and becometh crueltie it ſelf: and this act ſeemeth to be of the ſame nature.

** Beſoldus, De regibus Hieroſol. ex variis autoribus, pag.119*

The end of the firſt Book.

Anno Dom. 1099 July 23.

The Historie of the HOLY WARRE.

Book II.

Chap. 1.

Robert the Normane refuseth the kingdome of Jerusalem; Godfrey of Bouillon chosen king; his parentage, education, and vertues.

Anno Dom. 1099 July 23.

EIght dayes after Jerusalem was wonne, they proceeded to the election of a King: but they had so much choice that they had no choice at all; so many Princes there were, and so equally eminent, that Justice her self must suspend her verdict, not knowing which of them best deserved the Crown. Yet it was their pleasure to pitch on Robert the Normane as on the man of highest descent, being sonne to a King: for great Hugh of France was already returned home, pretending the colick; though some impute it to cowardlinesse, and make the disease not in his bowels but his heart.

Robert refused this honourable profer; whether because he had an eye to the kingdome of England now void by the death of William Rufus, or because he accounted Jerusalem would be incumbred with continuall warre. But he who would not take the Crown with the Crosse, was fain to take the Crosse without the Crown, and never thrived afterwards in any thing he undertook. Thus they who refuse what God fairly carveth for them, do never after cut well for themselves. He lived to see much misery, and felt more, having his eyes put out by king Henry his brother; and at last found rest (when buried) in the now Cathedrall church of Glocester under a * woodden monument, bearing better proportion to his low fortunes then high

P. Amylius, pag. 137.

Henry Hunting. lib. 7. pag. 377.

** Cambden Brit. p. 255.*

high birth. And since, in the same quire he hath got the company of another Prince as unfortunate as himself, King Edward the second. *Anno Dom.*

They go on to a second choice; and that they may know the natures of the Princes the better, their servants were examined on oath to confesse their masters faults. The* servants of Godfrey of Bouillon protested their masters onely fault was this, That when Mattens were done he would stay so long in the church to know of the Priest the meaning of every image and picture, that dinner at home was spoiled by his long tarrying. All admired hereat, that this mans worst vice should be so great a vertue, and unanimously chose him their King. He accepted the place, but refused the solemnity thereof; and would not wear a crown of gold there, where the Saviour of mankind had worn a crown of thorns.

* *Tyrius, lib. 9. cap. 2.*

He was sonne to Eustace Duke of Bouillon, and Ida his wife, daughter and heir to Godfrey Duke of Lorein; born, saith * Tyrius, at Bologne a town in Champaigne on the English sea, which he mistaketh for Bouillon up higher in the continent neare the county of Lutzenburg. Such slips are incident to the pennes of the best authours: yea, we may see Canterbury mistaken for Cambridge, not onely in * Munster, but even in all our own printed Statute-books in the 12. of Richard the * second. He was brought up in that school of valour, the court of Henry the 4. the Emperour. Whilest he lived there, there happened an intricate suit betwixt him and another Prince about title of land; and becaus Judges could not untie the knot, it was concluded the two Princes should cut it asunder with their sword in a combat. Godfrey was very * unwilling to fight, not that he was the worse souldier, but the better Christian: he made the demurre not in his courage, but in his conscience; as conceiving any private title for land not ground enough for a duell: Yea, we may observe generally, that they who long most to fight duells, are the first that surfet of them. Notwithstanding, he yeelded to the tyranny of custome, and after the fashion of the countrey entred the lists: when at the first encounter his sword brake; but he struck his adversary down with the hilt, yet so that he saved his life, and gained his own inheritance. Another parallel act of his valour was when being standard-bearer to the Emperour, he with the imperiall ensigne killed Rodulphus the Duke of Saxony in single fight, and fed the Eagle on the bowels of that arch-rebell. His soul was enriched with many vertues, but the most orient of all was his humility, which took all mens affections without resistance: And though one saith, Take away ambition, and you take away the spurres of a souldier; yet, Godfrey without those spurres rode on most triumphantly.

* *Lib. 9. cap. 5.*

* *Lib. 2. Cosmog. pag. 50.*

* *As Caius proveth it plainly out of Walsingham.*

* Quantum potuit renitebatur, *Tyrius, lib. 9. cap. 7.*

Chap.

Anno Dom.

Chap. 2.

The eſtabliſhing of Eccleſiaſticall affairs, and Patriarchs in Antioch and Jeruſalem; the numeroſity of Paleſtine-Biſhops.

BUt now let us leave the Helmets, and look on the Mitres, and conſider the ordering of Eccleſiaſticall affairs. For the Common-wealth is a Ring, the Church the Diamond; both well ſet together, receive, and return luſtre each on other. As ſoon as Antioch was taken, one Bernard (a reverend Prelate) was made Patriarch there with generall conſent. But more ſtirre was there about that place in Jeruſalem: For firſt Arnulphus, a worthleſſe and vitious man, was by * popular faction lifted up into the Patriarchs chair; but with much ado was avoided, and Dabert, Archbiſhop of Piſa, ſubſtituted in his room: one very wiſe and politick, an excellent book-man in reading of men, and otherwiſe well ſtudied, eſpecially as that age went, wherein a mediocrity was an eminency in learning. But he was infected with the humour of the clergie of that age, who counted themſelves to want room except they juſtled with Princes. As for Arnulphus, he never ceaſed to trouble and moleſt this Dabert; and as a firebrand ſmoketh moſt when out of the chimney, ſo he after his diſplacing was moſt turbulent and unquiet, ever ſitting on his skirts that ſat in the Patriarchs chair, till after many changes he ſtruggled himſelf again into the place.

* Fatuo populo ſuffragia inconſulta miniſtrante, *Tyrius, lib. 9. cap. 4.*

Under theſe Patriarchs many Archbiſhops and Biſhops were appointed in the very places (as neare as might be) where they were before the Saracens overrunning the countrey, and good maintenance aſſigned to moſt of them.

But at this time Biſhops were ſet too thick for all to grow great; and Paleſtine fed too many Cathedrall churches to have them generally fat. * Lydda, Jamnia, and Joppa, three epiſcopall towns, were within foure miles one of another. Yea, * Tyrius makes 14 Biſhops under the Archbiſhop of Tyre, 20 under the Archbiſhop of Cæſarea, under the Archbiſhop of Scythopolis 9, 12 under the Archbiſhop of Rabbah, beſides 25 ſuffragan churches, which it ſeems were immediately depending on the Patriarch of Jeruſalem, without ſubordination to any Archbiſhop. Surely, many of theſe Biſhops (to uſe Biſhop * Langhams expreſſion) had high racks but poore mangers. Neither let it ſtagger the reader if in that catalogue of Tyrius he light on many Biſhops ſeats which are not to be found in Mercator, Ortelius, or any other Geographer; for ſome of them

* *Vide tabulas Adricomii.*
* *Lib. 14. cap. 12.*

* *In the Archbiſhops of Cant. p. 143.*

46 were such poore places, that they were ashamed to appear in a map, and fall so much under a Geographers notice, that they fall not under it. For in that age Bishops had their Sees at poore and contemptible villages; (as here in England before the Conquest, who would suspect Sunning in Barkshire, or Dorchester neare Oxford to have had Cathedrall churches?) till in the daies of * William the first, Bishops removed their seats to the principall towns in the shire. *Anno Dom.*

* *Fox Martyrolog. p. 173.*

Chap. 3.

The Saracens conquered at Askelon.

MAhomets tombe hung not so strong but now it began to shake, and was likely to fall. These victories of the Christians gave a deadly wound to that religion. Wherefore the Saracens combined themselves with the Turks to assist them, there being betwixt these two nations, I will not say an unity, but a conspiracy in the same superstition; so that therein they were like a nest of hornets, stirre one and anger all. Wherefore coming out of Egypt under Ammiravissus their Generall, at Askelon they gave the Christians battel. But God sent such a qualm of cowardlinesse over the hearts of these Infidels, that an hundred thousand of them were quickly slain; so that it was rather an execution then a fight; and their rich tents which seemed to be the * exchequer of the East-countrey, spoiled; so that the Pilgrimes knew not how to value the wealth they found in them. *Aug.* 12.

* *Tyrius, lib. 9 cap. 12.*

This victory obtained, such Pilgrimes as were disposed to return, addressed themselves for their countrey; and these merchants for honour went home, having made a gainfull adventure. Those that remained were advanced to Signories in the land; as Tancred was made governour of Galilee. Nor will it be amisse to insert this story: Peter Bishop of Anagnia in Italy was purposed here to lead his life without taking care for his charge; when behold S. Magnus * patrone of that church appeared to him in a vision, pretending himself to be a young man who had left his wife at home, and was come to live in Jerusalem. Fie, said Peter to him, go home again to your wife: *Whom God hath joyned together let no man put asunder.* Why then, replied S. Magnus, have you left your church a widow in Italy, and live here so farre from her company? This vision, though calculated for this one Bishop, did generally serve for all the non-residents which posted hither, and who payed not the

* *Baronius out of Brunus in anno 1099*

Anno Dom.

the lawfull debt to their conſcience, whileſt by needleſſe bonds they engaged themſelves to their own will-worſhip. For though ſouls of men be light, becauſe immaterrall, yet they may prove an heavy burden to theſe careleſſe Paſtours who were to anſwer for them.

After the return of theſe Pilgrimes, the heat of the Chriſtians victories in Syria were ſomewhat allayed: for * Boemund Prince of Antioch marching into Meſopotamia, was taken priſoner; and Godfrey beſieging the city of Antipatris, then called Aſſur, though hitherto he had been alwayes a conquerour, was fain to depart with diſgrace. So ſmall a *remora* may ſtay that ſhip which faileth with the faireſt gale of ſucceſſe.

* *Tyrius, lib. 9. cap. 20. Idem, lib. 9. cap. 19.*

Chap. 4.

The originall and increaſe of the Hoſpitallers; their degenerating through wealth into luxury.

* About this time under Gerard their firſt maſter, began the order of Knights-hoſpitallers. Indeed more anciently there were Hoſpitallers in Jeruſalem; but theſe were no Knights: they had a kind of order, but no honour annexed to it; but were pure Alms-men, whoſe houſe was founded and they maintained by the charity of the merchants of Amalphia a citie in Italy.

* *Hoſpinian. De orig. Mon. fol. 165.*

But now they had more ſtately buildings aſſigned unto them, their houſe dedicated to S. John of Jeruſalem; Knights-hoſpitallers and thoſe of S. John of Jeruſalem being both the ſame; although learned * Dr Ridley maketh them two diſtinct orders, for which our * great Antiquary doth juſtly reprove him. But ſuch an errour is veniall; and it is a greater fault rigidly to cenſure, then to commit a ſmall overſight. The one ſheweth himſelf man, in miſtaking; the other no man, in not pardoning a light miſtake.

* *In his View of civill law, pag. 159.*
* *Mr Selden, in his preface Of tithes, pag. 6.*

To make one capable of the higheſt order of this Knighthood (for their * ſervitours and prieſts might be of an inferiour rank) the party muſt thus be qualified: Eighteen yeares old at the leaſt; of an able body; not deſcended of Jewiſh or Turkiſh parents; no baſtard, except baſtard to a Prince, there being honour in that diſhonour, as there is light in the very ſpots of the moon. Deſcended he muſt be of worſhipfull parentage. They wore a red belt with a white croſſe; and on a black cloke the white croſſe of Jeruſalem, which is a croſſe croſſed, or five croſſes together, in memorie of our Saviours five wounds. Yet

* *Hoſpinian. De orig. Mon. fol. 165.*

was

48

Anno Dom.

was there some difference betwixt their habit in peace and in warre. Their profession was to fight against Infidels, and to secure Pilgrimes coming to the Sepulchre; and they vowed Poverty, Chastity, and Obedience. Reimundus de Podio their second master made some additionalls to their profession: as, They must receive the sacrament thrice a yeare; heare Masse once a day if possible: They were to be no merchants, no usurers; to fight no private duells; to stand neuters and to take no side, if the Princes in Christendome should fall out.

Hospinian. ut prius.

But it is given to most religious orders, to be clear in the spring and mirie in the stream. These Hospitallers afterwards getting wealth, unlaced themselves from the strictnesse of their first Institution, and grew loose into all licentiousnesse. What was their obedience to their master but rebellion against the Patriarch their first patrone? as shall be shewed hereafter. What was their poverty but a couzenage of the world; whilest their order sued *in formâ pauperis*, and yet had * nineteen thousand mannours in Christendome belonging unto them? Neither will it be *scandalum magnatum* to their lordships, to say what S. * Bernard speaketh of their chastity, how they lived *inter scorta & epulas*, betwixt bawds and banquets. And no wonder if their forced virginity was the mother of much uncleanesse: For commonly those who vow not to go the high-way of Gods ordinance, do haunt base and unwarrantable by-paths.

**Camb. Brit. pag.311.*

**Cited by Volaterran.*

I will not forestall the history, to shew how these Hospitallers were afterwards Knights of Rhodes, and at this day of Malta; but will conclude with the ceremonies used at their creation, because much materiall stuff no doubt may be picked out of their formalities.

There is delivered them, 1. a *sword, in token that they must be valiant, 2. with a crosse-hilt; their valour must defend religion: 3. With this sword they are struck three times over the shoulders, to teach them patiently to suffer for Christ: 4. They must wipe the sword; their life must be undefiled. 5. Gilt spurres are put on them, because they are to scorn wealth at their heels: 6. And then they take a taper in their hands, for they are to lighten others by their exemplary lives; 7. and so go to heare Masse: where we leave them.

**Sand.Trav. pag.229.*

* At the same time Knights of the Sepulchre were also ordained, which for their originall and profession are like to these Knights-hospitallers. The order continueth to this day. The Padre Guardian of Jerusalem maketh them of such as have seen the Sepulchre. They should be Gentlemen by birth: but the Padre carrieth a Chancerie in his bosome to mitigate the rigour of this Common law, and will admit of him that bringeth fat enough, though no bloud: as of late he made an Apothecary

** Sand.Trav. pag.159.*

of

Anno Dom.

of Aleppo of that honour: So that there the ſword of Knighthood is denied to none who bring a good ſheath with them, and have a purſe to pay ſoundly for it.

Chap. 5.

The ſcuffling betwixt the King and Patriarch about the city of Jeruſalem; the iſſue thereof.

NOt long after, there was ſtarted a controverſie of great conſequence betwixt the King and Patriarch: the Patriarch claiming the cities of Jeruſalem and Joppa, with the appertenances; the King refuſing to ſurrender them.

The Patriarch pleaded, That theſe places anciently belonged to his predeceſſours: He ſet before the King the hainouſneſſe of ſacriledge; how great a ſinne it was when Princes, who ſhould be nurſing-fathers and ſuckle the Church, ſhall ſuck from it: and ſhewed how the Common-wealth may grow fat, but never healthfull, by feeding on the Churches goods.

On the other ſide the King alledged, That the Chriſtian Princes had now purchaſed Jeruſalem with their bloud, and beſtowed it on him: that the Patriarchs overgrown title was drowned in this late conqueſt; from which, as from a new foundation, all muſt build their claims who challenge any right to any part in the city. Secondly, he pleaded, it was unreaſonable that the King of Jeruſalem ſhould have nothing in Jeruſalem (as at this day the Romane Emperour is a very ciphre, without power or profit in Rome) and ſhould live rather as a ſojourner then a Prince in his royall citie, confined to an airy title, whileſt the Patriarch ſhould have all the command.

To this the Patriarch anſwered, That the Chriſtians new conqueſt could not cancell his ancient right, which was enjoyed even under the Saracens; That this voyage was principally undertaken for advancing the Church, and not to reſtore her onely to her liberty, and withhold from her her lands, ſo that in this reſpect ſhe ſhould find better uſage from her foes then from her children. If we miſtake not, the chief pinch of the cauſe lieth on the Patriarchs proof, that the lands he demanded formerly belonged to his predeceſſours: and we find him to fail in the main iſſue of the matter. True it was, that for the laſt thirty yeares the Patriarchs on condition they ſhould repair and fortifie the walls of Jeruſalem, were poſſeſſed of a fourth part of the city, even by grant from Bomenſor the Emperour of the

50

Saracens, in the yeare of our Lord 1063. But that ever he had the whole citie, either by this or by any previous grant, it appeareth not in Tyrius; who saith moreover, * We wonder for what reason the lord Patriarch should raise this controversie against Duke Godfrey. *Anno Dom.*

* *Lib.9. cap.16.*

Let me adde, that this our Authour is above exception: for being both a politick states-man and pious prelate, no doubt his penne strikes the true and even stroke betwixt King and Patriarch. Besides, he might well see the truth of this matter, writing in a well-proportioned distance of time from it. Those who live too neare the stories they write, oftentimes willingly mistake through partiality; and those who live too farre off, are mistaken by uncertainties, the footsteps of truth being almost worn out with time.

But to return to Godfrey, who though unwilling at first, yet afterwards not onely on Candlemasse-day restored to the Patriarch the fourth part of the citie, but also on the Easter following, gave him all Jerusalem, Joppa, and whatsoever he demanded: conditionally that the King should hold it of the Patriarch till such time as he could conquer Babylon, or some other royall citie fit for him to keep his court in. If in the mean time Godfrey died without issue, the Patriarch was to have it presently delivered unto him.

* *Centuriatores, centur. 12. col.490. De schismat.*

We will be more charitable then those that say that the Patriarch herein did * bewitch and bemad Godfrey to make this large donation to him, by torturing his conscience at the confession of his sinnes. Onely we may question the discretion of this Prince in giving a gift of so large a size: for Charities eyes must be open as well as her hands; though she giveth away her branches, not to part with the root.

And let the reader observe, that Godfrey at the time of this his bountifull grant lay on his death-bed, sick of that irrecoverable disease which ended him. How easily may importunity stamp any impression on those whom desperate sickness hath softened! And if the sturdiest man nigh death may be affrighted into good works for fear of Purgatory, no wonder if devout Godfrey were pliable to any demand. *Pierce Plowman maketh a witty wonder, why Friers should covet rather to confesse and bury, then to christen children; intimating it proceeded from covetousnesse, there being gain to be gotten by the one, none by the other. And this was the age wherein the Covents got their best living by the dying: which made them (contrary to all other people) most to worship the sunne setting.

* *In his Pass. 11.*

Chap.

Anno Dom.

Chap. 6.

Godfreys death and buriall.

AUthours differ on the death of this noble King: some making him to die of that long-wasting sickness; others, of the * plague: It may be the plague took him out of the hands of that lingring disease, and quickly cut off what that had been long in fretting. He died July 18. having reigned one yeare wanting five dayes. A Prince valiant, pious, bountifull to the Church: for besides what he gave to the Patriarch, he founded Canons in the temple of the Sepulchre, and a monasterie in the vale of Jehoshaphat.

* *P. Æmylius, lib. 5.*

We would say his death was very unseasonable (leaving the orphane State not onely in its minority, but its infancy) but that that fruit which to mans apprehension is blown down green and untimely, is gathered full-ripe in Gods providence. He was buried in the temple of the Sepulchre, where his tombe is unviolated at this day; whether out of a religion the Turks bear to the place, or out of honour to his memory, or out of a valiant scorn to fight against dead bones; or perchance the Turks are minded as John King of England was, who being wished by a Courtier to untombe the bones of one who whilest he was living had been his great enemy, Oh no, said King John, would all mine enemies were as honourably buried.

Chap. 7.

Baldwine chosen King. He keepeth Jerusalem in despite of the Patriarch.

1100 GOdfrey being dead, the Christians with a joint consent dispatched an embassie to Baldwine his brother, Count of Edessa (a city in * Arabia, the lord whereof had adopted this Baldwine to be his heir) entreated him to accept of the Kingdome: which honourable offer he courteously embraced.

* *Plin. lib. 5. cap. 24.*

A Prince whose body Nature cut of the largest size, being like * Saul, higher by the head then his subjects. And though the Goths had a law, alwayes to choose a * short thick man for their King; yet surely a goodly stature is most majesticall. His hair and beard brown, face fair, with an eagles nose; which in the * Persian Kings was anciently observed as a mark of magnanimity.

* *Tyrius, lib. 10. cap. 2.*
* *Munst. Cosmog. lib. 3. pag. 264.*
* *Pantal. in vita Caroli 5.*

52

nimity. Bred he was a ſcholar, entred into Orders, and was Prebendary in the * churches of Rhems, Liege, and Cambray; but afterwards turned ſecular Prince, as our * Athelwulphus, who exchanged the mitre of Wincheſter for the crown of England. Yet Baldwine put not off his ſcholarſhip with his habit, but made good uſe thereof in his reigne. For though bookiſhneſſe may unactive, yet learning doth accompliſh a Prince, and maketh him ſway his ſceptre the ſteadier. *Anno Dom.*

He was properly the firſt King of Jeruſalem (his brother Godfrey never accounted more then a Duke) and was crowned on Chriſtmaſſe-day. The reaſon that made him aſſume the name of a King, was thereby to ſtrike the greater * terrour into the Pagans. Thus our Kings of England from the dayes of King John were ſtyled but Lords of Ireland, till Henry the 8. firſt entitled himſelf King, becauſe * Lord was ſleighted by the ſeditious rebells. As for that religious ſcruple which Godfrey made, to wear a crown of gold where Chriſt wore one of thorns, Baldwine eaſily diſpenſed therewith. And ſurely in theſe things the mind is all: A crown might be refuſed with pride, and worn with humility. *Dec.* 25.

But before his Coronation there was a tough bickering about the city of Jeruſalem. Dabert the Patriarch, on the death of Godfrey, devoured Jeruſalem and the towre of David in his hope; but coming to take poſſeſſion, found the place too hot for him. For Garnier Earl of Gretz, in the behalf of King Baldwine (who was not as yet returned from Edeſſa) manned it againſt him. But ſo it happened, that this valiant Earl died three dayes after, which by * Dabert was counted a juſt judgement of God upon him for his ſacriledge. Now though it be piety to impute all events to Gods hand, yet to ſay that this mans death was for ſuch a ſinne, ſheweth too much preſumption towards God, and too little charity towards our neighbour. Indeed if ſudden death had ſingled out this Earl alone, it had ſomewhat favoured their cenſure; but there was then a generall mortality in the city which ſwept away * thouſands: and, which is moſt materiall, what this Patriarch interpreted ſacriledge, others accounted loyalty to his Sovereigne. As for that donation of the city of Jeruſalem and towre of David which Godfrey gave to the Patriarch, ſome thought that this gift overthrew it ſelf with its own greatneſſe, being ſo immoderately large: others ſuppoſed it was but a perſonall act of Godfrey, and therefore died with the giver; as conceiving his ſucceſſours not obliged to perform it, becauſe it was unreaſonable that a Prince ſhould in ſuch ſort fetter and reſtrain thoſe which ſhould come after him. Sure it is, that Baldwine having both the ſtronger ſword, and poſſeſſion of the citie,

* *Tyrius, lib. 10. cap. 1.*
* *Fox, Martyrol. pag. 136.*
* *Munſt. Coſmog. p. 1008.*
* *Cambden, Brit. pag. 732.*
* *Tyrius, lib. 10. cap. 4.*
* *Urſperg. pag. 236.*

Anno Dom.

citie, kept it perforce, whileſt the Patriarch took that leave which is allowed to looſers, to talk, chafe, and complain; ſending his bemoning letters to * Boemund Prince of Antioch, inviting him to take arms, and by violence to recover the Churches right; but from him received the uſeleſſe aſſiſtance of his pity, and that was all.

* *Tyrius, lib.* 10.

Chap. 8.

The Church-ſtory during this Kings reigne. A chain of ſucceſsive Patriarchs; Dabert, Ebremare, Gibelline, and Arnulphus: Their ſeverall characters.

1102. AFterwards, this breach betwixt the King and Patriarch was made up by the mediation of ſome friends: but the skinne onely was drawn over, not dead fleſh drawn out of the wound; and Arnulphus (whom we mentioned before) diſcontented for his loſſe of the Patriarchs place, ſtill kept the ſore raw betwixt them. At laſt Dabertus the Patriarch was fain to flee to Antioch, where he had plentifull maintenance allowed him by
1103. Bernard Patriarch of that See. But he was too high in the inſtep to wear another mans ſhoes, and conceived himſelf to be but in a charitable priſon whileſt he lived on anothers benevolence. Wherefore hence he haſted to * Rome, complained to the Pope, and received from his Holineſſe a command to King Baldwine to be reeſtabliſhed in the Patriarchs place; but returning home died by the way at Meſſana in Sicily, being accounted ſeven yeares Patriarch, foure at home, and three in baniſhment.

* *Tyrius, lib.* 11. *cap.* 4.

1107. Whileſt Dabert was thruſt out, one Ebremarus was made Patriarch againſt his will by King Baldwine. An holy and devout man; but he had more of the dove then the ſerpent, and was none of the deepeſt reach. He hearing that he was complained of to the Pope for his irregular election, poſted to Rome to excuſe himſelf, ſhewing he was choſen againſt his will: and though preferment may not be ſnatched, it needs not be thruſt away. But all would not do; It was enough to put him out, becauſe the King put him in. Wherefore he was commanded to return home, and to wait the definitive ſentence, which Gibellinus Archbiſhop of Arles and the Popes Legate ſhould pronounce in the matter.

54

Gibellinus coming to Jeruſalem, concluded the election of Ebremarus to be illegall and void, and was himſelf choſen Patriarch in his place; and the other in reverence of his piety made Archbiſhop of Ceſarea. And though Arnulphus (the firebrand of this Church) deſired the Patriarchs place for himſelf, yet was he better content with Gibellinus his election, becauſe he was a through-old man, and hoped that candle would quickly go out that was in the ſocket. *Anno Dom.* 1108.

* *Tyrius, lib. 11. cap. 28.* * To this Gibellinus King Baldwine granted, that all places which he or his ſucceſſours ſhould winne, ſhould be ſubject to his juriſdiction; and this alſo was confirmed by Pope Paſchall the 2. But Bernard Patriarch of Antioch found himſelf much aggrieved hereat; becauſe many of theſe cities by the ancient canon of the Councel of Nice, were ſubject to his Church. At laſt the Pope took the matter into his hand, and ſtroked the angry Patriarch of Antioch into gentleneſſe with good language. He ſhewed, how ſince the Councel of Nice the countrey had got a new face; ancient mountains were buried, rivers drowned in oblivion, and they new-chriſtened with other names: Yea, the deluge of the Saracens tyranny had waſhed away the bounds of the Churches juriſdictions, that now they knew not their own ſeverals, where Mahometaniſme ſo long had made all common and waſte. He deſired him therefore to be contented with this new diviſion of their juriſdictions: eſpecially becauſe it was reaſonable, that the King of Jeruſalem and his ſucceſſours ſhould diſpoſe of thoſe places which they ſhould winne with their own ſwords. Bernard perceiving hereby how his Holineſſe ſtood affected in the buſineſſe, contented his conſcience that he had ſet his title on foot, and then quietly let it fall to the ground, as counting it no policie to ſhew his teeth where he durſt not bite.

Baronius in anno 1108.

Gibellinus never laid claim to the citie of Jeruſalem, whether it was becauſe in thankfulneſſe for this large eccleſiaſticall power which King Baldwine had beſtowed upon him, or that his old age was too weak to ſtrive with ſo ſtrong an adverſarie. He ſat foure yeares in his chair, and Arnulphus thinking he went too ſlow to the grave, is ſuſpected to have given him ſomething to have mended his pace, and was himſelf ſubſtituted in his room by the eſpeciall favour of King Baldwine.

This Arnulphus was called *mala corona*, as if all vices met in him to dance a round. And no wonder if the King being himſelf wantonly diſpoſed, advanced ſuch a man: for generally, looſe Patrones cannot abide to be pinched and pent with over-ſtrict Chaplains. Beſides, it was policie in him to chooſe ſuch a Patriarch as was liable to exceptions for his vitious life; that ſo if he began to bark againſt the King, his mouth might be quickly ſtopped. 1112.

Anno Dom.

stopped. Arnulphus was as quiet as a lambe, and durst never challenge his intereſt in Jeruſalem from Godfreys donation; as fearing to wreſtle with the King, who had him on the hip, and could out him at pleaſure for his bad manners. Amongſt other vices he was a great church-robber, who to make Emmelor his niece a Princeſſe, and to marry Euſtace Prince of Sidon, gave her the citie of Jericho for her dowrie, and lands belonging to his See worth five thouſand crowns yearly. And though Papiſts may pretend that marriage cauſeth covetouſneſſe in the Clergie, yet we ſhall find when the Prelacie were conſtrained to a ſingle life, that their nephews ate more church-bread then now the children of married Miniſters. Yea, ſome Popes not onely fed their baſtards with church-milk, but even cut off the churches breaſts for their pompous and magnificent maintenance. And thus having diſpatched the ſtory of the Church in this Kings reigne, we come now to handle the buſineſſe of the Common-wealth entirely by it ſelf. 55

Chap. 9.

A mountain-like army of new adventurers after long and hard travail delivered of a mouſe; Alexius his treachery.

1101 THe fame of the good ſucceſſe in Paleſtine ſummoned a new ſupply of other Pilgrimes out of Chriſtendome. Germany, and other places which were ſparing at the firſt voyage, made now amends with double liberality. The chief adventurers were, Guelpho Duke of Bavaria, (who formerly had been a great champion of the Popes againſt Henry the Emperour; and from him * they of the Papall faction were denominated Guelphes, in diſtinction from the Imperiall party which were called Gibellines.) Hugh brother to the King of France, and Stephen Earl of Bloys, (both which had much ſuffered in their reputation for deſerting their fellows in the former expedition, and therefore they ſought to unſtain their credits by going again.) Stephen Earl of Burgundy, William Duke of Aquitain, Frederick Count of Bogen, Hugh brother to the Earl of Tholoſe: beſides many great Prelates; Diemo Archbiſhop of Salzburg, the * Biſhops of Millain and Pavie, which led 50000 out of Lombardy; the totall ſumme amounting to 250000. All ſtood on the tiptoes of expectation to ſee what ſo great an army would atchieve; men commonly meaſuring victories by the mul-

* *Pantal. De hiſt. Germ. part. 2. pag. 151.*

* *Urſperg. pag. 237.*

56

multitudes of the souldiers. But they did nothing memorable, save onely that so many went so farre to do nothing. Their sufferings are more famous then their deeds; being so consumed with plague, famine, and the sword, that * Conrade Abbot of Urspurg, who went and wrote this voyage, beleeveth that not a thousand of all these came into Palestine, and those so poore that their bones would scarce hold together: so that they were fitter to be sent into an hospitall then to march into the field; having nothing about them wherewith to affright their enemies, except it were the ghost-like ghastlinesse of their famished faces. The army that came out of Lombardy were so eaten up by the swords of the Turks, that no fragments of them were left, nor news to be heard what was become of them: And no wonder, being led by Prelates unexperienced in martiall affairs; which, though perchance great Clerks, were now to turn over a new leaf, which they had no skill to reade. * Luther was wont to say, that he would be unwilling to be a souldier in that army where Priests were Captains; becausse the Church and not the Camp was their proper place; whereas going to warre, they willingly outed themselves of Gods protection, being out of their vocation.

Anno Dom.

*In Chronico, pag. 239.

* Cited by Lampad. Mellif. histor. part 3. pag. 268.

But the main matter which made this whole voyage miscarry in her travail, was the treachery of the midwife through whose hands it was to passe. For Alexius the Grecian Emperour feared, lest betwixt the Latines in the East in Palestine, and West in Europe, as betwixt two milstones, his Empire lying in the midst should be ground to powder. Whereupon, as these Pilgrimes went through his countrey, he did them all possible mischief, still under the pretense of kindnesse, (What hinderer to a false helper?) calling the chief Captains of the army his sonnes; but they found it true, The more courtesie, the more craft. Yea, this deep dissembler would put off his visard in private, and professe to his friends that he delighted as much to see the Turks and these Christians in battel, as to see * mastiff-dogs fight together; and that * which side soever lost, yet he himself would be a gainer.

* Besoldus.

* P. Æmyl. pag. 140.

But when they had passed Grecia, and had crossed the Bosporus (otherwise called The arm of S. George) entring into the dominion of the Turks, they were for thirty dayes exposed a mark to their arrows. And though this great multitude was never stabbed with any mortall defeat in a set battel, yet they consumed away by degrees, the cowardly Turks striking them when their hands were pinnioned up in the straits of unknown passages. The Generalls bestrawed the countrey about with their corpses. Great Hugh of France was buried at Tarsus in Cilicia; Duke Guelpho, at Paphos in Cyprus; * Diemo the Arch-

* Munst. Cosmog. pag. 640.

Anno Dom.

Archbishop of Saltzburg saw his own heart cut out, and was * martyred by the Turks at Chorazin: And God (saith my Authour) manifested by the event, that the warre was not pleasing unto him.

57
* *Ursperg. pag.* 238.

Chap. 10.

Antipatris and Cesarea wonne by the Christians. The variety of King Baldwines successe.

MEan time King Baldwine was imployed with better successe in Palestine: for hitherto Joppa was the onely port the Christians had; but now by the assistance of the Genoan fleet (who for their pains were to have * a third part of the spoil, and a whole street to themselves of every city they took) Baldwine wonne most considerable havens along the mid-land-sea. He began with Antipatris, to ransome the Christian honour which was morgaged here, because Godfrey was driven away from hence: And no wonder, having no * shipping; whereas that Army which takes a strong harbour, otter-like must swim at sea as well as go on ground.

* *Tyrius, lib. 10. cap.* 14.

* *Tyrius, lib. 9. cap.* 18.

Next he took Cesarea-Stratonis, built and so named in the honour of Cesar Augustus, by Herod the great; who so * politickly poised himself, that he sat upright whilest the wheel of Fortune turned round under him. Let Antony winne, let Augustus winne, all one to him; by contrary winds he failed to his own ends. Cesarea taken, Baldwine at Rhamula put the Turks to a great overthrow.

* *Josephus.*

But see the chance of warre; Few dayes after at the same place he received a great defeat by the Infidels, wherein besides many others, the two Stephens, Earls of Burgundy and Bloys, were slain. This was the first great overthrow the Christians suffered in Palestine: and needs must blows be grievous to them who were not used to be beaten. The King was reported slain, but fame deserved to be pardoned for so good a lie; which for the present much disheartened the Christians, a great part of the souldiers courage being wrapped up in the life of the Generall.

Baronius (as bold as any * Bethshemite to pry into the ark of Gods secrets) * saith, This was a just punishment on Baldwine for detaining the Churches goods. But to leave hidden things to God, the apparent cause of his overthrow was his own * rashnesse, being desirous to ingrosse all the credit alone, without sending for succours and supplies from his neighbours. He assaulted

* 1. *Sam.* 6.
* *In Annal. Eccles. anno* 1100. *& rursus, anno* 1104.
* *Tyrius, lib. 10. cap.* 20.

58 saulted his numerous enemies with an handfull of men; and so brake himself, with covetousnesse to purchase more honour then he could pay for. And herein he discovered his want of judgement, being indeed like an arrow well-feathered, but with a blunt pile; he flew swift, but did not sink deep. Thus his credit lay bleeding, but he quickly stanched it. The Pagans little suspecting to be re-incountred, gave themselves over to mirth and jollity (as security oftentimes maketh the sword to fall out of their hands from whom no force could wrest it) when Baldwine coming on them with fresh souldiers, strook them with the back-blows of an unexpected enemy, which alwayes pierce the deepest, routed them and put them to the flight. This his victory followed so suddenly after his overthrow, that some mention not the overthrow at all, but the victory onely; as that good horseman is scarce perceived to be thrown, that quickly recovereth the saddle.

Anno Dom.

Chap. 11.

The conquest of sundry fair havens by the Christians; Ptolemais, &c.

WHilest the King was thus busied in battel, Tancred Prince of Galilee was not idle, but enlarged the Christian dominions with the taking of Apamea and Laodicea. These cities in Celosyria were built by * Antiochus: and they agreed so well together, that they were called sisters; and as in concord, so in condition they went hand in hand, being now both conquered together. 1102

* *Tyrius, lib. 10. cap. 23. Idem, cap. 28.*

Ptolemais next stooped to the Christian yoke; so named from Ptolemeus Philometor King of Egypt; a citie on the Mediterranean, of a triangular form, having two sides washed with the sea, the third regarding the champian. The Genoan galleys being 70 in number, did the main service in conquering, and had granted them for their reward large profits from the harbour, a church to themselves, & jurisdiction over a fourth part of the citie. This Ptolemais was afterwards the very seat of the Holy warre. Let me mind the Reader of a Latine proverb, * *Lis Ptolemaica*; that is, A long and constant strife; so called from Ptolemais, a froward old woman who was never out of wrangling. But may not the proverb as well be verified of this citie, in which there was ninescore yeares fighting against the Turks? 1104

* *Vide Erasm. Adag.*

With * worse successe did Baldwine Count of Edessa, and Earl

* *Tyrius, lib. 10. cap. 30.*

Anno Dom.

Earl Joceline beſiege Charran in Meſopotamia: for when it was ready to be ſurrendred, the Chriſtian Captains fell out amongſt themſelves, were defeated by the Pagans, and the two forenamed Earls taken priſoners. This Charran is famous for * Abrahams living, and his father Terahs dying there: And in the ſame place rich * Craſſus the Romane vomited up the ſacrilegious goods he had devoured of the temple of Jeruſalem, and had his army overthrown. Nor here may we overpaſſe, 1107 how Boemund Prince of Antioch with a great navie ſpoiled the harbours of Grecia, to be revenged of treacherous Alexius the Emperour. Voluntaries for this ſervice he had enough, all deſiring to have a laſh at the dog in the manger, and every mans hand itching to throw a cudgel at him; who like a nut-tree muſt be manured by beating, or elſe would never bear fruit: yet on ſome conditions an agreement at laſt was made betwixt them. 59 *Gen. 11. 31. * *Joſephus.* *Tyrius, lib. 11 cap. 6.* *Idem.*

To return to Paleſtine. The next citie that felt the victorious arms of the Chriſtians was Byblus; a good haven, and built by Heveus the ſixth ſonne of Canaan. Here Adonis was anciently worſhipped, whoſe untimely death by a bore Venus ſo much bemoned: And the fable is moralized, when Luſt lamenteth the loſſe of Beauty conſumed by age. Nor did Tripoli 1109 hold out long after; ſo called, becauſe jointly built by the Tyrians, Sidonians, and Aradites. And Berytus (ſince Barutus) accompanied her neighbour, and both of them were yeelded unto the Chriſtians. The King created one Bertram, a well-deſerving Noble-man, Earl of Tripoli; who did homage to the King for his place, which was accounted a title of great honour, as being one of the foure Tetrarchies of the kingdome of Jeruſalem.

Chap. 12.

The deſcription of Sidon and Tyre; the one taken, the other beſieged in vain by Baldwine.

1110 SIdon is the moſt ancient citie of Phenicia. And though the proud Grecians counted all Barbarians beſides themſelves, yet Phenicia was the ſchoolmiſtreſſe of Grecia, and firſt taught her her alphabet. For Cadmus a Phenician born, firſt invented and brought letters to Thebes. Sidon had her name from the eldeſt ſonne of * Canaan, and was famous for the fineſt cryſtall-glaſſes, which here were made. The glaſſie ſand was fetched 40 miles off, from the river Belus: but it could not be made * *Gen. 10. 15.*

60
* *Sand. Trav. pag.* 210.

* fusile till it was brought hither; whether for want of tools, or from some secret sullen humour therein, we will not dispute. This citie anciently was of great renown: but her fortune being as brittle as her glasses, she was fain to find neck for every one of the Monarchs yokes; and now at last (by the assistance of the * Danish and Norvegian fleet) was subdued by the Christians.

Anno Dom.

Dec. 19. 1112

* *Tyrius, lib.* 11. *cap.* 14.

Fleshed with this conquest, they next besieged Tyre. Sea and land, nature and art consented together to make this city strong: for it was seated in an island, save that it was tacked to the continent with a small neck of land, which was fortified with many walls and towres. It is questionable whether the strength or wealth of this city was greater; but out of question that the pride was greater then either. Here the best purples were died, a colour even from the beginning destined to Courts and Magistracie; and here the richest clothes were imbroidered and curiously wrought. And though generally those who are best with their fingers are worst with their arms, yet the Tyrians were also stout men, able mariners, and the planters of the noblest colonies in the world. As their city was the daughter of Zidon, so was it mother to Romes rivall Carthage, Leptis, Utica, Cadiz, and Nola. The most plentifull proof they gave of their valour, was, when for three yeares they defended themselves against Nebuchadnezzar; and afterwards stopped the full career of Alexanders conquests; so that his victorious army which did flie into other countreys, was glad to creep into this citie. Yet after seven moneths siege (such is the omnipotency of industry) he forced it, and stripped this lady of the sea naked beyond modesty and mercy, putting all therein to the sword that resisted, and hanged up 2000 of the prime citizens in a rank along the sea-shore.

Yet afterwards Tyre out-grew these her miseries, and attained, though not to her first giant-like, yet to a competent proportion of greatnesse. At this time wherein King Baldwine besieged it, it was of great strength and importance, insomuch that finding it a weight too heavy for his shoulders, he was fain to break off his siege and depart.

Tyrius, lib. 11. *cap.* 19.

With worse successe he afterwards did rashly give battel to the vast army of the Persian Generall, wherein he lost many men, all his baggage, and escaped himself with great difficulty.

1113

Chap.

Anno Dom.

Chap. 13.

The pleasurable voyages of King Baldwine, and his death.

AFter the tempest of a long warre a calm came at last, and King Baldwine had a five yeares vacation of peace in his old age: In which time he disported himself with many voyages for pleasure: as, one to the Red-sea, not so called from the redness of the water, or sand, as some without any colour have conceited; but from the neighbouring Edomites, whom the Grecians called Erythreans, or *red men*, truly translating the Hebrew name of Edomites: they had their name of redness from their father * Edom. And here Baldwine surveyed the countrey, with the nature and strength thereof.

1116

1117 Another journey he took afterwards into * Egypt, as conceiving himself ingaged in honour to make one inrode into that countrey in part of paiment of those many excursions the Egyptians had made into his Kingdome. He took the city of * Pharamia, anciently called Rameses, and gave the spoil thereof to his souldiers. This work being done, he began his play, and entertained the time with viewing that riddle of Nature, the river of Nilus, whose stream is the confluence of so many wonders: first, for its undiscovered fountain; though some late Geographers, because they would be held more intelligent then others, have found the head of Nilus in their own brains, and make it to flow from a fountain they fansie in the mountains of the moon, in the south of Africa: then, for the strange creatures bred therein; as river-bulls, horses, and crocodiles: But the chiefest wonder is the yearly increasing thereof from the * 17. of June to the midst of September, overflowing all Egypt, and the banks of all humane judgement to give the true reason thereof.

* *Scalig. on Festus, in Ægyptius. & Fuller, Miscell. lib. 4. cap. 20.*

* *Tyrius, lib. 11. cap. 31.*

* *Calvisius makes it to be wonne at the former voyage.*

* *Sand. Trav. pag. 94.*

Much time Baldwine spent in beholding this river, wherein he took many fishes, and his death in eating them: for a new surfet revived the grief of an old wound, which he many yeares before received at the siege of Ptolemais. His sickness put him in mind of his sinnes, conscience speaking loudest when men begin to grow speechlesse: And especially he grieved, that having another wife alive, he had married the Countesse of Sicilie, the relict of Earl Roger: But now heartily sorrowfull for his fault, he sent away this his last wife; yet we reade not that he received his former again. Other faults he would have amended, but was prevented by death. And no doubt where the deed

62 could not be present, the desire was a sufficient proxy. He died at Laris, a city in the road from Egypt, and was brought to Jerusalem, and buried on Palm-sunday in the temple of the Sepulchre, in the 18. yeare of his reigne. *Anno Dom.* 1118 *Mar.* 26.

A Prince superiour to his brother Godfrey in learning, equall in valour, inferiour in judgement; rash, precipitate, greedy of honour, but swallowing more then he could digest, and undertaking what he was not able to perform; little-affected to the Clergie, or rather to their temporall greatnesse, especially when it came in competition with his own; much given to women, (besides the three wives he had, first marrying Gutrera an English-woman; after her death, Tafror an Armenian Lady; and whilest she yet survived, the Countesse of Sicilie) yet he had no child, God commonly punishing wantonnesse with barrennesse. For the rest, we referre the reader to the dull Epitaph written on his tombe, which (like the verses of that age) runneth in a kind of rhythme, though it can scarce stand on true feet:

Rex Baldwinus, Judas alter Maccabæus,
Spes patriæ, vigor Ecclesiæ, virtus utriusq;
Quem formidabant, cui dona tributa ferebant,
** Cedar, Ægypti Dan, ac homicida Damascus;*
Proh dolor! in modico clauditur hoc tumulo.

* *Aliter* Cæsar.

Baldwine another Maccabee for might;
Hope, help of State, of Church, and boths delight;
Cedar, with Egypts Dan of him afraid,
Bloudy Damascus to him tribute paid:
Alas! here in this tombe is laid.

Let him who pleaseth play the critick on the divers readings; and whether by *Dan* be meant the Souldan, or whether it relateth to the conceit that Antichrist shall come of the tribe of Dan. But perchance the text is not worth a comment.

Chap. 14.

Baldwine the second chosen King; Prince Eustace peaceably renounceth his right.

IT happened the same day King Baldwine was buried, that Baldwine de Burgo his kinsman and Count of Edessa came casually into the city, intending onely there to keep his Easter: when behold the Christian Princes met together for the election

Anno Dom.

on of a new King. The greater part did centre their ſuffrages on Prince Euſtace, brother to the two former Kings, but then abſent in France. They alledged, That it was not ſafe to break the chain of ſucceſſion, where the inverſion of order bringeth all to confuſion; and, That it was high ingratitude to the memories of Godfrey and Baldwine, to exclude their brother from the crown; eſpecially he being fit in all points to be a King, wanting nothing but that he wanted to be there; That in the mean time ſome might be deputed to lock up all things ſafe, and to keep the keyes of the State till he ſhould arrive.

On the other ſide, ſome objected the dangers of an *interregnum*, how when a State is headleſſe, every malecontent would make head; inconveniences in other countreys would be miſchiefs here, where they lived in the mouth of their enemies: and therefore to ſtay for a King, was the way to loſe the Kingdome.

Then Joceline Prince of Tiberias, a man of great authoritie, offered himſelf a moderatour in this difference, and counſelled both ſides to this effect: To proceed to a preſent election, and therein to be directed not confined by ſucceſſion; though they miſſed the next, let them take one of Godfreys kindred: As the caſe now ſtood, he muſt be counted next in bloud that was next at hand; and this was Baldwine Count of Edeſſa, on whom he beſtowed moſt ſuperlative praiſes. All were much affected with theſe his commendations; for they knew that Joceline was his ſworn adverſary, and concluded that it muſt needs be a mighty weight of worth in Baldwine, which preſſed out praiſe from the mouth of his enemy: though indeed private ends prompted him to make this ſpeech, who hoped himſelf to get the Earldome of Edeſſa when Baldwine ſhould be tranſlated to Jeruſalem. However, his words took effect, and Baldwine hereupon

1118 *April* 2. was choſen King, and * crowned on Eaſter-day by Arnulphus the Patriarch.

* *Tyrius, lib.* 12. *cap.* 4.

Mean time ſome ſecretly were ſent to Prince Euſtace to come and challenge the crown. But he hearing that another was already in poſſeſſion, though he was on his journey coming, quietly went back again. A large alms, to give away a Kingdome out of his charity to the publick cauſe.

Baldwine was of a proper perſonage, and able body, born nigh Rhems in France, ſonne to Hugh Count of Rorſtet and Milliſent his wife. He was exceedingly charitable to the poore, and pious towards God; witneſſe the brawn on his hands and knees made with continuall praying: valiant alſo, and excellently well ſeen in all martiall affairs.

We had almoſt forgotten what happened in this yeare, the death of Alexius the Grecian Emperour, that arch-hypocrite and

64 and grand enemy of this warre. On whom we may bestow this Epitaph: *Anno Dom.*

If he of men the best doth know to live
Who best knows to dissemble, justly then
To thee, Alexius, we this praise must give,
That thou to live didst know the best of men.
And this was it at last did stop thy breath,
Thou knew'st not how to counterfeit with death.

His sonne Calo-Johannes succeeded him in his Empire, of whom we shall have much cause to speak hereafter.

Chap. 15.

The ecclesiasticall affairs in this Kings reigne.

According to our wonted method, let us first rid out of the way Church-matters in this Kings reigne, that so we may have the more room to follow the affairs of the Commonwealth. We left Arnulphus the last Patriarch of Jerusalem; since which time the bad savour of his life came to the Popes nose, who sent a Legate to depose him. But Arnulphus hasted to Rome with much * money, and there bought himself to be innocent, so that he enjoyed his place during his life. 1119

* *Tyrius, lib. 11. cap. 26.*

Guarimund succeeded in his place, a very religious man, by whom God gave the Christians many victories. He called a Councel at Neapolis or Sichem, wherein many wholesome things were concluded for reformation of manners. Betwixt him and William Archbishop of Tyre (an English-man) there arose a difference, because this Archbishop would not receive his confirmation of him, (from whom by ancient right he should take it) but from the Pope, counting it the most honour to hold of the highest landlord. And indeed the Pope for gain confirmed him, though he should have sent him to the Patriarch. But the court of Rome careth not though men steal their corn, so be it they bring it to their mills to grind. 1119.

After Guarimunds death, Stephen Abbot of S. John de Valia was chosen Patriarch; once a cavalleer, but afterward laying down the sword, he took up the Word, and entred into Orders. He awaked the Patriarchs title to Jerusalem, which had slept during his three predecessours, and challenged it very imperiously of the King; for he was a man of spirit and metall. And indeed he had too much life to live long. For the King fearing what flame this spark might kindle, and finding him to be an active man, gave him (as it is suspected) a little more active poi- 1128.

son,

Anno Dom.

son, which cut him off in the midst of his age, and beginning of his projects. 65

The King coming to him when he lay on his death-bed, asked him how he did: To whom he answered, My * Lord, for the present I am as you would have me. A cruel murder, if true: But it is strange, that he whose hands (as we have said) were hardened with frequent prayer, should soften them again in innocent bloud. Wherefore we will not condemn the memory of a King on doubtfull evidence. The Patriarchs place was filled with William Prior of the Sepulchre, a Fleming; a man better beloved then learned.

* *Tyrius, lib. 13. cap. 25.*

1130.

Chap. 16.

Knights-Templars, and Teutonicks instituted.

1119 ABout this time the two great orders of Templars and Teutonicks appeared in the world. The former under Hugh de Paganis, and Ganfred of S. Omer their first founders. They agreed in profession with the Hospitallers, and performed it alike, vowing Poverty, Chastity, and Obedience, and to defend Pilgrimes coming to the Sepulchre. It is * falsely fathered on S. Bernard, that he appointed them their rule; who prescribeth not what they should do, but onely * describeth what they did: namely, How they were never idle, mending their old clothes when wanting other imployment; never played at chesse or dice, never hawked nor hunted, beheld no stage-playes, arming themselves with faith within, with steel without; aiming more at strength then state; to be feared, not admired; to strike terrour with their valour, not stirre covetousnesse with their wealth in the heart of their enemies. Other sweet praises of them let him who pleaseth fetch from the mouth of this mellifluous Doctour.

* *Baronius, in anno 1127.*

* *Quarto & quinto cap. exhort.*

1119.

Indeed at first they were very poore; in token whereof they gave for their * Seal, Two men riding on one horse. And hence it was, that if the Turks took any of them prisoners, their constant ransome was a * Sword and a Belt; it being conceived that their poore state could stretch to no higher price. But after their order was confirmed by Pope Honorius (by the intreatie of Stephen the Patriarch of Jerusalem) who appointed them to wear a White garment, to which Eugenius the third added a Red crosse on their breast; they grew wonderfully rich by the bounty of severall Patrones: Yea, * the King and Patriarch of Jerusalem dandled this infant-order so long in their laps till it brake

* *Weaver, Fun. mon. pag. 71.*

* *Hospin. De orig. mon.*

* *Tyrius, lib. 12. cap. 7.*

1128.

66 brake their knees, it grew so heavy at last; and these ungratefull Templars did pluck out the feathers of those wings which hatched and brooded them. From Alms-men they turned Lords; and though very valiant at first (for they were sworn rather to die then to flie) afterwards lazinesse withered their arms, and swelled their bellies. They laughed at the rules of their first Institution, as at the swaddling-clothes of their infancie; neglecting the Patriarch, and counting themselves too old to be whipped with the rod of his discipline; till partly their vitiousnesse, and partly their wealth caused their finall extirpation, as (God willing) shall be shewed* hereafter.

*Lib.5 cap.1, 2,3.

At the same time began the Teutonick order, consisting onely of Dutch-men well descended, living at Jerusalem in an house which one of that nation bequeathed to his countreymen that came thither on pilgrimage. In the yeare 1190 their order was honoured with a great Master, whereof the first was Henry a-Walpot; and they had an habit assigned them to wear, Black crosses on White robes: They were to fight in the defense of Christianity against Pagans. But we shall meet with them more largely in the following story.

Anno Dom.

Chap. 17.

The Christians variety of successe; Tyre taken by the assistance of the Venetians.

IT is worth the Readers marking, how this Kings reigne was checquered with variety of fortune: For first, Roger Prince of Antioch (or rather guardian in the minoritie of young Boemund) went forth with greater courage then discretion; whereunto his successe was answerable, being conquered and killed by the Turks. But Baldwine on the 14 of August following, forced the Turks to a restitution of their victorie, and with a small army gave them a great overthrow, in spite of Gazi their boasting Generall.

Tyrius, lib. 12. cap. 10.

To qualifie the Christians joy for this good successe, Joceline unadvisedly fighting with Balak, a petty King of the Turks, was conquered and taken prisoner: and King Baldwine coming to deliver him, was also taken himself; for which he might thank his own rashnesse: For it had been his best work to have done nothing for a while, till the Venetian succours which were not farre off, had come to him; and not presently to adventure all to the hazard of a battel. 1122

Yet the Christians hands were not bound in the Kings captivity:

Anno Dom.

vity: For Eustace Grenier, chosen Vice-roy whilest the King was in durance, stoutly defended the countrey: and Count Joceline, which had escaped out of prison, fighting again with Balak at Hircapolis, routed his army, and killed him with his own hands. But the main piece of service was the taking of Tyre, which was done under the conduct of Guarimund the Patriarch of Jerusalem; but chiefly by the help of the Venetian navy, which Michael their Duke brought, who for their pains were to have a third part of the city to themselves. Tyre had in it store of men and munition; but famine increasing (against whose arrows there is no armour of proof) it was yeelded on honourable terms. And though perhaps hunger shortly would have made the Turks digest courser conditions, yet the Christians were loth to anger their enemies valour into desperateness.

June 29. Next yeare the King returned home, having been eighteen moneths a prisoner, being to pay for his ransome an hundred thousand Michaelets, and for security he left his daughter in

1125 pawn. But he payed the Turks with their own money, or (which

1126 was as good coin) with the money of the Saracens, vanquishing Barsequen their Captain at Antiochia: and not long after, he conquered Doldequin another great Commander of them at Damascus.

1130 To correct the rankness of the Christians pride for this good successe, Damascus was afterward by them unfortunately besieged: Heaven discharged against them thunder-ordinance, arrows of lightning, small-shot of hail, whereby they being miserably wasted were forced to depart. And this affliction was increased when Boemund the young Prince of Antioch, one of great hope and much lamented, was defeated and slain. Au-

1131 thours impute these mishaps to the Christians pride, and relying on their own strength, which never is more untrusty then when most trusted. True it was, God often gave them great victories, when they defended themselves in great straits: Hereupon they turned their thankfulness into presumption, grew at last from defending themselves to dare their enemies on disadvantages to their often overthrow: for God will not unmake his miracles by making them common. And may not this also be counted some cause of their ill successe, That they alwayes imputed their victories to the materiall Crosse which was carried before them? So that Christ his glory after his ascension suffered again on the Crosse by their superstition.

68

Chap. 18.

The death of Baldwine the second.

Anno Dom.

KIng Baldwine a little before his death renounced the world, and took on him a religious habit. This was the fashion of many Princes in that age; though they did it for divers ends. Some thought to make amends for their disordered lives by entring into some holy order at their deaths: Others having surfeted of the worlds vanitie, fasted from it when they could eat no more because of the impotency of their bodies: Others being crossed by the world by some misfortune, sought to crosse the world again in renouncing of it. These like furious gamesters threw up their cards, not out of dislike of gaming but of their game; and they were rather discontented to live then contented to die. But we must beleeve that Baldwine did it out of true devotion, to ripen himself for heaven, because he was piously affected from his youth; so that all his life was religiously tuned, though it made the sweetest musick in the close. He died not long after, on the 22 of August, in the 13 yeare of his reigne; and was buried with his predecessours in the temple of the Sepulchre. By Morphe a Grecian Lady his wife, he had foure daughters: whereof Millesent was the eldest; the second Alice, married to young Boemund Prince of Antioch; the third Hodiern, wife to Reimund Prince of Tripoli; and Mete the youngest, Abbesse of Bethanie.

Chap. 19.

Of Fulco, the fourth King of Jerusalem.

FUlco Earl of Tours, Mam, and Anjou, coming some three yeares before on pilgrimage to Jerusalem, there took in marriage Millesent the Kings daughter. He had assigned to him the city of Tyre, and some other princely accommodations for his present maintenance, and the Kingdome after the death of his father in law, which he received accordingly. He was welnigh 60 yeares old: And by his first wife he had a sonne, Geffrey Plantagenet Earl of Anjou; to whom he left his lands in France, and from whom our Kings of England are descended. This Fulco was a very valiant man, able both of body and mind. His greatest defect was a weak memory (though not so bad as that of * Messala Corvinus, who forgot his own name) insomuch

1132

* *Plin. lib. 7. cap. 24.*

Anno Dom.

insomuch that he knew not his own servants; and those whom he even now preferred, were presently after strangers unto him. Yet though he had a bad memory whilest he lived, he hath a good one now he is dead, and his vertues are famous to posteritie. 69

Chap. 20.

The Church-story during this Kings reigne; The remarkable ruine of Rodolphus Patriarch of Antioch.

THe Church of Jerusalem yeelded no alterations in the reigne of Fulco. But in Antioch there was much stirre who should succeed Bernard that peaceable long-lived man, who sat 36 yeares, and survived eight Patriarchs of Jerusalem. Now whilest the Clergie were tedious in their choice, the Laity was too nimble for them, and they (thinking it equall to have an hand in making, who must have their arms in defending a Patriarch) clapped one* Rodolphus of noble parentage into the chair. He presently took his pall off from the altar of S. Peter, thereby sparing both his purse and pains to go to Rome, and acknowledging no other superiour then that Apostle for his patrone. This man was the darling of the Gentry, (and no wonder if they loved him who was of their cloth and making) but hated of the Clergie. Wherefore knowing himself to need strong arms who was to swim against the stream, he wrought himself into the favour of the Princesse of Antioch, the widow of young Boemund, so that he commanded all her command, and beat down his enemies with her strength. He promised to make a marriage betwixt her and Reimund Earl of Poictou, (a Frenchman of great fame, who was coming into these parts) but he deceived her, and caused the Earl to marry Constantia the daughter of this Lady, by whom he had the principality of Antioch. Indeed this Constantia was but a child for age; but they never want yeares to marry, who have a Kingdome for their portion. 1136. *Tyrius, lib. 15.

The Patriarch to make sure work, bound Prince Reimund by an oath to be true to him: But friends unjustly gotten, are seldome comfortably enjoyed: Of his sworn friend, he proved his sworn enemy, and forced him to go up to Rome, there to answer many accusations laid to his charge; wherein the groundwork perchance was true, though malice might set the varnish

70

on it. The main matter was, that he made odious comparisons betwixt Antioch and Rome, and counted himself equall to his Holinesse. *Anno Dom.*

Rodolphus coming to Rome found the Popes doores shut against him, but he opened them with a golden key. Money he sowed plentifully, and reaped it when he came to be tried; for he found their hands very soft towards him whom formerly he had greased in the fist. He also resigned his old pall, and took a new one from the Pope. As for his other crimes, it was concluded that Albericus Bishop of Ostia should be sent into Syria the Popes Legate, to examine matters, and to proceed accordingly with the Patriarch as things there should be found alledged and proved: Whereat his adversaries much stormed, who expected that he should instantly have been deposed.

Yet afterwards they prevailed mightily with Albericus the Legate, and bowed him on their side. He coming to Antioch cited the Patriarch to appear; who being thrice called, came not. On his absence all were present with their conjectures what should cause it: Some imputing it to his guiltinesse; others to his contempt; others to his fear of his enemies potencie, or judges partiality: for indeed the Legate came not with a virgin-judgement, but ravished with prejudice; being prepossessed with this intent to dispossesse him of his place. Some thought he relied on his peace formerly made at Rome, where the illegality of his election was rectified by his laying down his first pall, and assuming a new one from the Pope.

1136

Here was it worth the beholding in what severall * streams mens affections ran. All wished that the tree might be felled, who had hopes to gather chips by his fall; and especially one Arnulphus, and Dean Lambert, the promoters against the Patriarch. Others pitied him, and though perchance content that his roof might be taken down, were loth he should be razed to the ground. Some reserved their affections till they were counselled by the event which side to favour; and would not be engaged by any manifest declaration, but so that they might fairly retreat if need required. Amongst other Prelates which were present, Serlo Archbishop of Apamea was one, who formerly had been a great enemy to the Patriarch, but had lately taken himself off from that course. The Legate demanded of him why he proceeded not to accuse the Patriarch as he was wont: To whom he answered, "*What formerly I did, was done out "of unadvised heat against the health of my soul, discovering "the nakednesse of my father, like to cursed Cham; and now "God hath recalled me from mine errour: so that I will nei- "ther accuse, nor presumptuously judge him, but am ready to "die for his safety. Hereupon the Legate immediately (such was

* *Baronius, in anno* 1136.

* *Tyrius, lib.* 15. *cap.* 16.

Anno Dom. was the martiall law in a Church-man) deposed him from his Archbishoprick. Little hope then had the Patriarch, who saw himself condemned in his friend: and he himself followed not long after, being thrust out by violence, cast into prison, and there long kept in chains; till at last he made an escape to Rome, intending there to traverse his cause again, had not death (occasioned by poison, as is thought) prevented him.

1141.

71

Idem, lib. 15. *cap.* 17.

Chap. 21.

Calo-Johannes the Grecian Emperour demandeth Antiochia; Reimund the Prince thereof doeth homage to him for it.

1136 CAlo-Johannes the Grecian Emperour came up with a * vast army of horse and foot, and demanded of Reimund Prince of Antioch, to resigne unto him that whole Signorie, according to the composition which the Christian Princes made with * Alexius his father.

* *Tyrius, lib.* 14. *cap.* 24.

* *Vide supra,* book 1. chap. 15.

Hereat Reimund and all the Latines stormed out of measure: Had they purchased the inheritance of the land with their own bloud, now to turn tenants at will to another? Some pleaded, That the ill usage of Alexius * extorted from Godfrey and the rest of the Pilgrimes that agreement; and an oath made by force, is of no force, but may freely be broken, because not freely made. Others alledged, That when Antiochia was first wonne, it was offered to Alexius, and * he refused it: so fair a tender was a paiment. Others argued, That that generation which made this contract was wholly dead; and that the debt descended not on them to make it good. But most insisted on this, That Alexius kept not his covenants, and assisted them not according to the agreement. Indeed he called these Princes his sonnes; but he disinherited them of their hopes, and all their portion was in promises never payed. No reason then, that the knot of the agreement should hold them fast, and let him loose.

* *Urspeng. pag.* 233. tortis sacramentis.

* *Vide supra,* book 1. chap. 15.

The worst of these answers had been good enough, if their swords had been as strong as the Grecian Emperours. But he coming with a numerous army, in few dayes overcame all Cilicia (which for fourty yeares had belonged to the Prince of Antioch) and then besieged the city of Antioch it self. Force is the body, and resolution the soul of an action: both these were well tempered together in the Emperours army; and the city brought to great distresse. Whereupon Fulk King of Jerusalem with

72 with some other Princes, fearing what wofull conclusion would follow so violent premisses, made a composition between them. So that Reimund did homage to the Emperour, and held his principality as a vassall from him. And though foure yeares after the Emperour came again into these parts, yet he did not much harm; pillaging was all his conqueſt. Some yeares after he died, being accidentally poisoned by one of his own arrows which he intended for the wild boar. A Prince so much better to the Latines then his father Alexius, as an honourable foe is above a treacherous friend. His Empire he disposed to Emmanuel his sonne. *Anno Dom.* 1146

Chap. 22.

The succession of the Turkish Kings, and the Saracen Caliphs: Of the unlimited power of a Souldan; Some resemblance thereof anciently in the kingdome of France.

NO great service of moment was performed in the reigne of King Fulk, because he was molested with domesticall discords, and intestine warres against Paulinus Count of Tripoli, and Hugh Earl of Joppa: Onely Beersheba was fortified, and some forts built about Askelon, as an introduction to besiege it. Also skirmishes were now and then fought with variety of successe, against Sanguin one of the Turks great Princes.

And here let the reader take notice, that though we have mentioned many Commanders, as Auxianus, Corboran, Ammiravissus, Tenduc, Gazi, Balak, Dordequin, Borscquin, Sanguin, some Turkish, some Saracen, yet none of these were absolute Kings (though perchance in courtesie sometimes so styled by writers) but were onely Generals & Lieutenants accountable to their superiours, the Caliphs either of Babylon or Egypt: Who what they were, we referre the reader to our Chronologie.

Caliph was the Pope (as I may say) of the Saracens, a mixture of Priest and Prince. But we need not now trouble our selves with curiosity in their successions; these Caliphs being but obscure men, who confined themselves to pleasures, making play their work, and having their constant diet on the sawce of recreation. We are rather to take notice of their Generals and Captains, which were the men of action. For a Souldan (which was but a Vice-roy) with his borrowed light shineth brighter in history

Anno Dom.

history then the Caliph himself. Yet may we justly wonder, that these slothfull Caliphs should do nothing themselves, and commit such unlimited power to their Souldans; especially seeing too much trust is a strong tentation to make ambitious flesh and bloud disloyall. Yet something may be said for the Caliph of Egypt, besides that the pleasures of that countrey were sufficient to invite him to a voluptuous life: First, the awfull regard which the Egyptians had of their Princes, gave them security to trust their officers with ample commission. Secondly, herein they followed an ancient custome practised by the Pharaohs anciently; who gave unto Joseph so large authority, as we may read in Genesis. Some example also we have hereof in France about nine hundred yeares ago. Childerick, Theodorick, Clovis, Childebert, Dagobert, &c. a chain of idle Kings well linked together, gave themselves over to pleasures privately, never coming abroad; but onely on May-day they shewed themselves to the people, riding in a chariot, adorned with flowers, and drawn with oxen, (slow cattel, but good enough for so lazy luggage) whilest Charles Martell and Pipin, Maiors of the palace, opened packets, gave audience to Embassadours, made warre or peace, enacted and repealed laws at pleasure, till afterwards from controllers of the Kings houshold they became controllers of the Kings, and at last Kings themselves.

Sr Walter Ralegh, part 1. book 2 chap. 26.

Gen. 41. 40.

To return to Egypt: Let none be troubled (pardon a charitable digression to satisfie some scrupulous in a point of Chronologie) if they find anciently more Kings of the Egyptians, and longer reigning then the consent of times will allow room for: for no doubt that which hath swelled the number, is the counting Deputies for Kings. Yea, we find the holy Spirit in the same breath, 1. Reg. 22. 47. speak a Vice-roy to be a King and no King; *There was no King in Edom; a Deputy was King.*

MELEK *in both.*

Chap. 23.

The lamentable death of King Fulk.

1142 WHen Fulco had now eleven yeares with much industry and care (though with little enlarging of his dominions) governed the land, he was slain in earnest as following his sport in hunting, to the great grief of his subjects. And we may heare him thus speaking his Epitaph:

Tyrius, lib. 15. cap. ult.

A hare I hunted, and death hunted me;
The more my speed was, was the worse my speed:

74

For as well-mounted I away did flee,
Death caught and kill'd me, falling from my steed.
Yet this mishap an happy misse I count,
That fell from horse that I to heaven might mount.

Anno Dom.

A Prince of a sweet nature; and though one would have read him to be very furious by his high-coloured countenance, yet his face was a good hypocrite; and (*contra leges istius coloris*, saith * Tyrius) he was affable, courteous, and pitifull to all in distresse. He was buried with his predecessours in the temple of the Sepulchre, leaving two sonnes, Baldwine who was 13, and Almerick 7 yeares old.

*Lib.14. cap.1.

Chap. 24.

The disposition of Baldwine the third; The care of Queen Millesent in her sonnes minority.

BAldwine succeeded his father, who quickly grew up, as to age, so in all royall accomplishments, and became a most complete Prince; well learned, especially in historie; liberall; very witty, and very pleasant in discourse: He would often give a smart jest, which would make the place both blush and bleed where it lighted: Yet this was the better taken at his hands, because he cherished not a cowardly wit in himself, to wound men behind their backs, but played on them freely to their faces; yea, and never refused the coin he payed them in, but would be contented (though a King) to be the subject of a good jest: and *sometimes he was well-favouredly met with; as the best fencer in wits schoole hath now and then an unhappy blow dealt him. Some thought he descended beneath himself in too much familiarity to his subjects; for he would commonly call and salute mean persons by their names: But the vulgar sort, in whose judgements the lowest starres are ever the greatest, conceived him to surpasse all his predecessours, because he was so fellow-like with them. 1243

* *Tyrius, lib. 16. cap. 2.*

But whilest yet he was in minority, his mother Millesent made up his want of age with her abundant care, being governour of all: A woman in sex, but of a masculine spirit. She continued a widow: and as for childrens sake she married once; so for her childrens sake she married no more. * S. Bernard and she spake often together by letters: He extolled her single life, How it was more honour to live a widow, then to be a Queen: * This she had by birth, that by Gods bounty; This she was happily

* *Epist. 206. col. 1569.*
* Illud tibi ex genere, istud ex munere Dei; illud feliciter nata es, hoc viriliter nacta, *Epist. 289. col. 1622*

Anno Dom.

happily begotten, that she had manfully gotten of her self. Yet we find not that she made a vow never to marry again; wherein she did the wiser: For the chasteſt minds cannot conclude from the preſent calm, that there will never after ariſe any luſtfull ſtorm in their ſouls. Beſides, a Reſolution is a free cuſtody; but a Vow is a kind of priſon, which reſtrained nature hath the more deſire to break. 75

Chap. 25.

Of Fulcher Patriarch of Jeruſalem, and the inſolencie of the Hoſpitallers againſt him.

WIlliam, who was laſt poſſeſſed of the Patriarchs chair in Jeruſalem, was none of the greateſt clerks. But whatſoever he was for edifying of the Church, he was excellent at building of Caſtles (one at Askelon, another at Ramula, a third called Blank-guard for the ſecuring of Pilgrimes) till at laſt having ſat in his place fifteen yeares, he was tranſlated to heaven, and on earth Fulcher Archbiſhop of Tyre ſucceeded him. 1145. An honeſt old man, whoſe weak age was much moleſted with the pride and rebellion of the Hoſpitallers, who lately had procured from the Pope a plenary exemption from the Patriarch. This his Holineſſe did the more willingly grant, becauſe hereby he made himſelf abſolute maſter of all orders, pinning them on himſelf by an immediate dependance, and ſo bringing water to his mill by a ſtraighter and nearer ſtream. But hereby the entireneſſe of Epiſcopall juriſdiction was much maimed and mangled, and every Covent was a caſtle of rebells, armed with priviledges to fight againſt their lawfull Dioceſan.

Now as theſe Hoſpitallers wronged the power of the Biſhops, ſo did they rob the profit of poore Prieſts, refuſing to pay any tithes of their Mannours, which contained many pariſhes (ſo that the Paſtours who fed the flocks, were ſtarved themſelves; and having laboured all day in the vineyard, were at night ſent ſupperleſſe to bed) the Hoſpitallers pleading that the Pope had freed them from theſe duties; as if an acquittance under the hand of his Holineſſe was ſufficient to diſcharge them from paying of tithes, a debt due to God. Other foul crimes they alſo were guilty of: as, outbraving the temple of the Sepulchre with their ſtately buildings; giving the Sacraments to, and receiving of excommunicate perſons; ringing their bells when their Patriarch preached, that his voice might not be

76
* *Tyrius, lib. 18. cap. 3.*

heard; shooting * arrows into the church to disturb him and the people in Divine service; A bundle whereof were hung up as a monument of their impiety. *Anno Dom.* 1156.

Fulcher the Patriarch crawled to Rome, being 100 yeares old, to complain of these misdemeanours; carrying with him the Archbishop of Tyre, and five other Bishops. But he had sped better, if in stead of every one of them he had carried a bag of gold. For the Hospitallers prevented him, and had formerly been effectually present with their large bribes; so that the Patriarchs suit was very cold: And no wonder, seeing he did afford no feuel to heat it. The Cardinals eyes in the court of Rome were old and dimme; and therefore the glasse wherein they see any thing must be well-silvered. Indeed two of them, Octavian, and John of S. Martin, favoured Christs cause and his Ministers; but * all the rest followed gifts, and the way of Balaam the sonne of Bosor. But here * Baronius, who hitherto had leaned on Tyrius his authority, now starteth from it: And no wonder, for his penne will seldome cast ink, when he meeteth with the corruption of the Romish court. But sure it was, that the good Patriarch wearied with delayes, returned back with his grievances unredressed. Whereupon the Hospitallers grew more insolent; and under pretense of being freed from fetters, would wear no girdle; denying not onely subjection, but any filiall obedience to a superiour.

* Alii omnes abeuntes post munera, secuti sunt vias Balaam filii Bosor, *Tyrius, lib. 18. cap. 8.*
* *Annal. eccles. in anno 1155.*

Chap. 26.

Of Almericus Patriarch of Antioch his instituting of Carmelites; Their differing from the pattern of Elias.

AFter the tragicall life and death of Rodolphus Patriarch of Antioch, who was twelve yeares Patriarch, counting his banishment, Haymericus by the contrary faction and power of Prince Reimund succeeded him, with little quiet and comfort of his place. 1142.

And here to our grief must we take our finall farewell of the distinct succession of the Patriarchs of Antioch, with the yeares that they sat; such is the obscurity and confusion in it. Yet no doubt this * Haymericus was the same with Almericus, who about the yeare 1160 first instituted the order of Carmelites. Indeed formerly they lived dispersed about the mountain of Carmel: but he gathered them together into one house; because solitarinesse

* *Compare Baronius with himself in these yeares, 1143, 1154, 1181, and we shall find Haymericus and Almericus the same.*

Anno Dom.

solitarinesse is a trespasse against the nature of man, and God when he had made all things good, saw it was not good for man to be alone.

Surely from great antiquity in the Primitive Church, many retired themselves to solitary places (where they were alwayes alone, and alwayes in the company of good thoughts) chiefly to shade themselves from the heat of persecution. Whose example was in after-ages imitated by others, when there was no such necessity: As here by these Carmelites; whose order was afterwards perfected in the yeare 1216, by Albert Patriarch of Jerusalem, with certain Canonicall observations imposed upon them. And in this next age, these bees which first bred in the ground and hollow trees, got them hives in gardens; and leaving the deserts, gained them princely houses in pleasant places. They pretended indeed that they followed the pattern of Elias, though farre enough from his example: First, for their habit; they wore * white coats guarded with red streaks: but they have no colour in the Bible that Elias ever wore such a livery; it suits rather with Joseph then with him. Secondly, by their order they were to ride on he-asses; whereas we reade that Elias went on foot, and rode but once in a chariot of fire. Thirdly, they by the constitution of Pope Nicolas the 5. had * sisters of their company living neare unto them; we find Elias to have no such feminine consorts. Fourthly, they lived in all lust and lazinesse; as * Nicolas Gallus their own Generall did complain, that they were Sodomites, and compareth them to the tail of the Dragon: so that their luxury differed from Elias his austerity, as much as velvet from sackcloth. Wherefore that the Carmelites came from mount Carmel cannot be denied: But on that mountain I find that both Elias and Baals priests gathered together; and let the indifferent reader judge which of them their lives do most resemble.

Polyd. Virg. lib.7. cap.3. Sabel. Enn.9. lib.5. Hospin De orig. mon.

* *Antonius, tit.20. cap.5.*

* *Balæus in vita Nicol.5.*

* *Vide Balæum, centur.4. cap.42. in append.2.*

Afterwards Pope Honorius 3. counting the party-coloured coats these Carmelites did wear to be too gaudy, caused them to wear onely white, the colour which nature doth die; simple, and therefore fittest for religion. But Melexala King of Egypt, who formerly was very bountifull to the Carmelites, knew not his Alms-men in their new coats, but changed his love, as they their livery, and persecuted them out of all Egypt. It seemeth afterwards, by the complaint of * Mantuan, that they wore some black again over their white: For he playeth on them, as if their bad manners had blacked and altered their clothes.

* *Eclog.2.* immutarunt mutati vellera mores.

Now though Palestine was their mother, England was their best nurse. Ralph Fresburg, about the yeare 1240, first brought them hither; and they were first seated at Newenden

78 in * Kent. An* hundred and fourty Engliſh writers have been of this order. And here they flouriſhed in great pomp, till at laſt King Henry the 8. as they came out of the wilderneſſe, ſo turned their houſes into a wilderneſſe; not onely breaking the necks of all Abbeys in England, but alſo ſcattering abroad their very bones, paſt poſſibility of recouniting them. *Anno Dom.*

*Yet Camden ſaith they were firſt ſeated in Northumberland.

* *Pitſæus, in indice Carm.*

Chap. 27.

Edeſſa loſt; The hopefull voyage of Conrade the Emperour and Lewis King of France to the Holy land, blaſted by the perfidiouſneſſe of Emmanuel the Grecian Emperour.

EMpires have their ſet bounds, whither when they come, they ſtand ſtill, go back, fall down: This we may ſee in the kingdome of Jeruſalem; which under Godfrey and the two firſt Baldwines was a gainer, under Fulk a ſaver, under the ſucceeding Kings a conſtant loſer till all was gone. For now Sanguin Prince of the Turks (as bloudy as his name) wreſted from the Chriſtians the countrey and city of Edeſſa, one of the foure Tetrarchies of the kingdome of Jeruſalem. And though Sanguin ſhortly after was ſtabbed at a feaſt, yet Noradine his ſonne ſucceeded, and exceeded him in cruelty againſt the Chriſtians.

The loſſe of Edeſſa (wherein * our religion had flouriſhed ever ſince the Apoſtles time) moved Conrade Emperour of the Weſt, and Lewis the 7. ſurnamed the Young King of France, to undertake a voyage to the Holy land. Pope Eugenius the 3. beſtirred himſelf in the matter, and made S. Bernard his ſoliciter to advance the deſigne. For never could ſo much ſteel have been drawn into the eaſt, had not this good mans perſwaſion been the loadſtone. The Emperours army contained two hundred thouſand foot, beſides fifty thouſand horſe: Nor was the army of King Lewis much inferiour in number. In France they ſent a * diſtaff and a ſpindle to all thoſe able men that went not with them, as upbraiding their effeminateneſſe: And no wonder, when women themſelves went in armour, (having a brave laſſe like another Pentheſilea for their leader, ſo befringed with gold, that they called her * Golden-foot) riding aſtride like men; which I ſhould count more ſtrange, but that I find all women in England in the ſame poſture on their horſes, till * Anna, wife to King Richard the ſecond, ſome 200 yeares ſince, taught them 1147

* Chriſtiano nomini à temporibus Apoſtolorum devota, *Tyrius, lib. 16. cap. 5.*

* *P. Æmyl. in Ludov. 7.*

* *Nicetas, in Emm. Comn.* χρυσόπους.

* *Camd. Britan. in Surrey.*

Anno Dom. 1147

them a more modeſt behaviour. The Turks did quake hearing of theſe preparations, which to them were reported farre greater then they were; fame (contrary to all other painters) making thoſe things the greateſt which are preſented the fartheſt off.

Conrade with his army took his way through Grecia: where Emmanuel the Emperour, poſſeſſed with an hereditary fear of the Latines, fortified his cities in the way, as knowing there needed ſtrong banks where ſuch a ſtream of people was to paſſe. And ſuſpecting that if theſe Pilgrimes often made his Empire their high-way into Paleſtine, little graſſe would grow in ſo troden a path, and his countrey thereby be much endamaged; he uſed them moſt treacherouſly, giving them bad welcome that he might no more have ſuch gueſts. To increaſe their miſeries, as the Dutch encamped by the river * Melas (if that may be called a river which is all mud in ſummer, all ſea in winter) deſerving his name from this black and diſmall accident, it drowned many with its ſudden overflowings; as if it had conſpired with the Grecians, and learned treachery from them. They that ſurvived this ſudden miſhap, were reſerved for lingring miſery. For the Grecian Emperour did them all poſſible miſchief, by mingling lime with their meal, by killing of ſtragglers, by holding intelligence with the Turks their enemies, by corrupting his coyn, making his ſilver as baſe as himſelf (ſo that the Dutch ſold good wares for bad money, and bought bad wares with good money) by giving them falſe Conductours which trained them into danger; ſo that there was more fear of the guides then of the way. All which his unfaithfull dealings are recorded by that faithfull hiſtorian * Nicetas Choniates: who though a Grecian born, affirmeth theſe things; the truth of his love to his countrey-men no whit prejudicing his love to the truth.

79

* *Nicetas, ut priùs.*

* *In vita Manuel. Comn. lib. 1. §. 5.*

Chap. 28.

The Turks conquered at Meander; The Dutch and French arrive in Paleſtine.

SCarce had the Dutch eſcaped the treachery of the Greeks, when they were encountred with the hoſtility of the Turks, who waited for them on the other ſide of Meander. The river was not foordable; ſhip or bridge the Chriſtians had none: when behold Conrade the Emperour adventured on an action, which becauſe it was ſucceſſefull, ſhall be accounted valiant; otherwiſe we

80

we ſhould term it deſperate. After an * exhortation to his army, he commanded them all at once to flownce into the river. Meander was plunged by their plunging into it: his water ſtood * amazed, as unreſolved whether to retreat to the fountain, or proceed to the ſea; and in this extaſie afforded them a dry paſſage over the ſtream. An act, which like that of Horatius Cocles his leaping into Tiber, * *plus famæ ad poſteros habiturum quàm fidei*, will find more admirers then beleevers with poſterity. The affrighted Turks on the other ſide, thinking there was no contending with them that did teach nature it ſelf obedience, offered their throats to the Chriſtians ſwords, and were killed in ſuch number, that whole piles of dead bones remain there for a monument: like thoſe heaps of the Cimbrians ſlain by Marius neare Marſeils, where afterwards the inhabitants walled their vineyards with ſculls, and guarded their * grapes with dead men. Hence Conrade made forward to Iconium, now called Cogni, which he beſieged in vain, to the great loſſe of his army.

Anno Dom.

The King of France followed after with great multitudes, and drank of the ſame cup at the Grecians hands, though not ſo deeply: till at laſt, finding that thoſe who marched through the continent met with an ocean of miſerie, he thought better to truſt the wind and ſea then the Greeks; and taking ſhipping ſafely arrived in Paleſtine, where he was highly welcomed by Reimund Prince of Antioch. Some weeks were ſpent in complying, entertainments, and viſiting holy places; till at laſt, Elianor wife to the King of France, who accompanied her huſband, made religion her pander, and played * bankrupt of her honour; under pretenſe of pilgrimage, keeping company with a baſe Saracen jeſter, whom ſhe preferred before a King. Thus love may blindfold the eyes, but luſt boreth them out. Yea, now ſhe pleaded that ſhe might be no longer wife to the King, becauſe ſhe was too neare unto him within the degrees forbidden. This new-ſtarted ſcruple never troubled her before: but ſome have ſluces in their conſciences, and can keep them open or ſhut them as occaſion requireth.

* *Knolls, Turk. hiſt. pag. 33.*

* *Nicetas, in Man. Comn. lib. 1. §. 6.*

* *Liv. lib. 2.*

* *Munſt. Coſmog. lib. 2. pag. 227.*

* *Serres, (tranſlated by Grimſton) in vita Ludov. 7. & P. Æmylius, in ejuſdem vita.*

1148

Chap.

Anno Dom.

Chap. 29.

Damaſcus beſieged in vain; The return of the Emperour and King; with the cenſure on this voyage.

THe late-come Pilgrimes having ſufficiently recreated themſelves, the Emperour and the King of France concluded to beſiege Damaſcus: for a ſmall town was conceived too narrow an object of their valour, whileſt ſo eminent an action was adequate to the undertakers. Damaſcus is ſo pleaſant a citie, that Mahomet durſt never enter into it, leſt this deceiver ſhould be deceived himſelf, and be ſo raviſhed with the pleaſures of the place, that he ſhould forget to go on in that great work he had in hand. Some make Eliezer Abrahams ſteward builder of this citie, becauſe he is called Eliezer of Damaſcus; though that phraſe ſpeaketh him rather to have had his birth or dwelling there, then the citie her building from him. To paſſe this by, becauſe as the foundations are hidden in the ground, ſo the founders of moſt ancient places are forgotten. It was for many
1148 yeares after the Metropolis of Syria, and was now ſtraitly beſieged by the Chriſtians with great hope of ſucceſſe, had they not afterwards fallen out amongſt themſelves who ſhould eat the chickens before they were hatched. Conrade and King Lewis deſtined the city to Theodorick Earl of Flanders, lately arrived in thoſe parts; whileſt other Princes which had been long reſident in Paleſtine, and born the heat of the warre, grudged hereat: and their ſtomachs could not digeſt the crudities of a raw upſtart to be preferred before them. Yea, ſome of the Chriſtians corrupted with Turkiſh money (though when they received it, it proved but * gilded braſſe; may all traitours be payed in ſuch coin) perſwaded the King of France to remove his camp to a ſtronger part of the walls: which they long beſieged in vain, and returned home at laſt, leaving the city and their honours behind them.

* *Theodor. à Niein, De privilegiis Imperii, cap. de Conrado 4.*

The French proverb was verified of this voyage, Much bruit and little fruit. They not onely did no good in the Holy land (* ſave that ſome think their coming advantaged King Baldwine for the taking of the citie of Askelon) but alſo did much harm. For now the Turks ſeeing one citie both bear the brunt and batter the ſtrength of both armies, began to conceive that their own fear was their greateſt enemy; and thoſe ſwords of theſe new Pilgrimes which they dreaded in the ſheath, they ſleighted when they ſaw them drawn; and ſhook off that aw

* *Sabellicus.*

82 which had formerly possessed them, of the strength of the Western Emperour. Many thousand Christians perished in this adventure, whose souls are pronounced by all the writers of this age to be carried up into heaven on the wings of the holy cause they died for: Whose blessed estate I will not disprove; nor will I listen to the unhappy Dutch proverb, * He that bringeth himself into needlesse dangers, dieth the divels martyr. *Anno Dom.*

* *Cited by Luther, on Gen.3.*

We must not forget how the French King coming homeward was taken prisoner by the fleet of the Grecian Emperour, and rescued again by Gregory Admirall to Roger King of Sicilie. When he was safely arrived in France, in open Parliament his wife was divorced from him. Her nearnesse in bloud was the onely cause specified; and the King took no notice of her inconstancy, accounting those but foolish husbands who needlessely proclaim their wives dishonesty. He gave her back again all the lands in France which he had received with her in portion; scorning her wealth which neglected his love. Herein he did nobly, but not politickly, to part with the Dukedomes of Poictou and Aquitain, which he enjoyed in her right: for he brake his own garland by giving her her flowers back again; mangled and dismembred his own kingdome, and gave a * torch into Henry King of England his hands (who afterwards married her) to set France on fire.

* *Serres, in Ludov.7.*

Chap. 30.

An apologie for S. Bernard, whom the vulgar sort condemned for the murderer of those that went this voyage.

SLander (quicker then Martiall law) arraigneth, condemneth, and executeth all in an instant. This we may see in poore S. Bernard, who was the mark for every mans tongue to shoot arrows against: and when this voyage had miscarried, many * condemned him, because his perswasion set this project not onely on foot but on wings; as if he had thrust so many men, as one morsel, into the jaws of death.

* *Goffridus, in vita Bern. lib.3. cap.4.*

But much may be alledged truly to excuse this good man:

First, he was but an instrument imployed by Pope Eugenius and a * Provinciall Councel of French Bishops to forward the designe. Rather then should they have blamed his Holinesse who set him on work: But the saddle oftentimes is not set on the right horse, because his back is too high to be reached; and

* *Baron. annal. Eccl. in anno* 1140. *Insistens operi sibi commisso ab Eugenio.*

we

Anno Dom.

we see commonly that the instruments are made skreens to save the face of the principall from scorching.

Secondly, the true cause of the ill successe was the vitiousnesse of the undertakers. For Germany at this time surfeted of lewd people; and those grew the fattest which lived on the high-wayes. But this voyage robbed the whole countrey of her * theeves; and then no wonder if they found their death in Asia, who deserved it in Europe. Heare what * Otho Frisingensis, who went this voyage, speaketh impartially in the matter: "If we should say that Bernard that holy Abbot was inspired "by Gods Spirit to incite us to this warre, but we through our "pride and wantonnesse not observing his holy commands "deservedly brought on our selves the losse of our goods and "lives, we should say nothing but what is agreeable to reason, "and to ancient examples. However, it was an heavy affliction to S. Bernards aged back to bear the reproch of many people: it being a great grief for one to be generally condemned as guilty, for want of proof of his innocency. And though God set his hand to S. Bernards testimoniall by the many * miracles which that Father wrought, yet still some challenged him for a counterfeit.

* Germania tunc latrociniis frequens purgabatur eo genere hominum, *Krantz. 6. Sax. cap. 13*

* *In vita Fred. lib. 1. cap. 6. in fine.*

* *Goffrid. ut prius.*

And surely this humiliation was both wholesome and necessary for him. For the people, who cannot love without doting, nor approve without admiring, were too much transported with an high opinion of this man and his directions; as if that arrow could not misse the mark which came out of S. Bernards bow. Wherefore this miscarriage came very seasonably to abate their over-towring conceits of him; and perchance his own of himself. And no doubt he made a good use of this bad accident. The lesse his fame blazed, the more his devotion burned; and the cutting off of his top, made him take deep root, and to be made more truly humbled and sanctified. In his book of * Consideration he maketh a modest defense of himself; whither we referre the reader. To conclude; The devotion of this man was out of question so neglecting this world, that he even did spit out that preferment which was dropped into his mouth: But as for his judgement, it was not alwayes the best; which gave occasion to the proverb, *Bernardus non vidit omnia.*

* *Lib. 2. cap. 1.*

Chap. 31.

Unseasonable discords betwixt King Baldwine and his mother; Her strength in yeelding to her sonne.

Anno Dom.

UPon the departure of Emperour Conrade and King Lewis, Noradine the Turk much prevailed in Palestine. Nor was he little advantaged by the discords betwixt Millesent Queen-mother and the Nobility; thus occasioned: There was a Noble-man called Manasses, whom the Queen (governing all in her sonnes minority) made Constable of the kingdome. This man unable to manage his own happinesse, grew so insolent that he could not go, but either spurning his equals, or trampling on his inferiours. No wonder then, if envy the shadow of greatnesse waited upon him. The * Nobility highly distasted him: but in all oppositions the Queens favour was his sanctuary; who to shew her own absoluteneſse, and that her affection should not be controlled, nor that thrown down which she set up, still preserved the creature she had made. 1149

* *Tyrius, lib. 17. cap. 13.*

His enemies perceiving him so fast rooted in her favour, and seeing they could not remove him from his foundation, sought to remove him with his foundation; instigating young King Baldwine against his mother, and especially against her favourite. They complained how the State groned under his insolency; He was the bridge by which all offices must passe, and there pay toll; He alone sifted all matters, and then no wonder if much bran passed; He under pretense of opening the Queens eyes did lead her by the nose, captivating her judgement in stead of directing it; He like a by-gulf devoured her affection, which should flow to her children. They perswaded the King he was ripe for government, and needed none to hold his hand to hold the sceptre. Let him therefore either untie or cut himself loose from this slavery, and not be in subjection to a subject.

Liberty needeth no hard pressing on youth, a touch on that stamp maketh an impression on that waxen age. Young Baldwine is apprehensive of this motion, and prosecuteth the matter so eagerly, that at length he coopeth up this Manasses in a castle, and forceth him to abjure the kingdome. Much stirre afterwards was betwixt him and his mother; till at last to end divisions, the kingdome was divided betwixt them: She had the city of Jerusalem, and the land-locked part; he the maritime half of the land. But the widest throne is too narrow for two to sit

Anno Dom.

sit on together. He not content with this partition, marcheth furiously to Jerusalem, there to besiege his mother, and to take all from her. Out of the citie cometh * Fulcher the good Patriarch, (his age was a patent for his boldnesse) and freely reproveth the King: Why should he go on in such an action wherein every step he stirred, his legs must needs grate and crash both against nature and religion? Did he thus requite his mothers care in stewarding the State, thus to affright her age, to take arms against her? Was it not her goodnesse to be content with a moyety, when the whole kingdome in right belonged unto her?

But ambition had so inchanted Baldwine, that he was penetrable with no reasons which crossed his designes: so that by the advice of her friends she was content to resigne up all, lest the Christian cause should suffer in these dissensions. She retired her self to * Sebaste, and abridged her train from State to necessity. And now the lesse room she had to build upon, the higher she raised her soul with heavenly meditations; and lived as more private, so more pious till the day of her death.

85

* *Tyrius, lib. 17. cap. 14.*

* *Idem, ibidem.*

Chap. 32.

Reimund Prince of Antioch overcome and killed; Askelon taken by the Christians; The death of King Baldwine.

THese discords betwixt mother and sonne were harmonie in the eares of Noradine the Turk: Who coming with a great army wasted all about Antioch; and Prince Reimund going out to bid him battel, was slain himself, and his army overthrown: nor long after Joceline Count of Edessa was intercepted by the Turks, and taken prisoner.

As for Constantia the relict of Reimund Prince of Antioch, she lived a good while a widow, refusing the affections which many princely suiters proffered unto her, till at last she descended beneath her self to marry a plain man, Reinold of Castile. Yet why should we say so, when as a Castilian Gentleman (if that not a needlesse tautologie) as he maketh the inventory of his own worth, prizeth himself any Princes fellow: And the proverb is, Each lay-man of Castile may make a King, each clergie-man a Pope? Yea, we had best take heed how we speak against this match: for Almericus Patriarch of Antioch for inveighing against it, was by this Prince Reinold set in the heat of the sunne with his * bare head besmeared with hony (a sweet-

1153

* *Tyrius, lib. 18. cap. 1.*

86

bitter torment) that so bees might sting him to death. But King Baldwine mediated for him, and obtained his liberty that he might come to Jerusalem: where he lived many yeares in good esteem. And Gods judgements are said to have overtaken the Prince of Antioch: for besides the famine which followed in his countrey, he himself afterwards fighting unfortunately with the Turks, was taken prisoner.

Anno Dom.

But let us step over to Jerusalem; where we shall find King Baldwine making preparation for the siege of Askelon: Which citie after it had long been blocked up, had at last an assaultable breach made in the walls thereof. The Templars (to whom the King promised the spoil if they took it) entred through this breach into the citie: and conceiving they had enow to wield the work and master the place, set a guard at the breach, that no more of their fellow-Christians should come in to be sharers with them in the booty. But their * covetousnesse cost them their lives: for the Turks contemning their few number put them every one to the sword. Yet at last the citie was taken, though with much difficulty.

* *Tyrius, lib. 17. cap. 27.*

1154 *Aug.* 12.

Other considerable victories Baldwine got of the Turks; especially one at the river Jordan, where he vanquished Noradine: And twice he relieved Cesarea-Philippi, which the Turks had straitly besieged. But death at last put a period to his earthly happinesse, being poisoned (as it was supposed) by a Jewish physician; for the rest of the potion killed a dog to whom it was given. This Kings youth was stained with unnaturall discords with his mother, and other vices, which in his settled age he reformed. Let the witnesse of Noradine his enemy be beleeved; who honourably refused to invade the kingdome whilest the funerall solemnities of Baldwine were performing; and professed the Christians had a just cause of sorrow, * having lost such a King, whose equall for justice and valour the world did not afford. He died without issue, having reigned one and twenty yeares. So that sure it is the Printers mistake in Tyrius, where he hath foure and twenty yeares assigned him, more then the consent of time will allow.

1163

* *Tyrius, lib. 19. cap. 34.*

Chap. 33.

King Almerick his disposition.

ALmerick brother to King Baldwine, Earl of Joppa and Askelon, succeeded to the Crown. But before his coronation he was enjoyned by the Popes Legate and by the Patriarch of Jerusa-

1163 *Febr.* 18.

Anno Dom.

Jeruſalem, to diſmiſſe Agnes his wife, daughter to Joceline the younger, Count of Edeſſa, becauſe ſhe was his couſin in the fourth degree; with this reſervation, that the two children he had by her, Baldwine and Sibyll, ſhould be accounted legitimate, and capable of their fathers poſſeſſions. A Prince of excellent parts; of a moſt happy * memory, (wherein alſo his brother Baldwine was eminent, though Fulk their father was wonderfully forgetfull; ſo true is the maxime, *Purè perſonalia non propagantur*, Parents entail neither their perſonall defects nor perfections on their poſterity) ſolid judgement, quick apprehenſion; but of a bad utterance, which made him uſe words onely as a ſhield when he was urged and preſſed to ſpeak, otherwiſe he preferred to be ſilent, and declined popularity more then his brother Baldwine affected it. Very thrifty he was; and though * Tully ſaith, *Dici hominem frugi non multum habet laudis in rege*, yet moderate frugality is both laudable and neceſſary in a King. But our Almerick went ſomewhat too farre, and was a little poore in admiring of riches, laying great taxations on the holy places to their utter impoveriſhing: Yet was he not maſtered by his purſe, but made it his vaſſall, and ſpared no money on a juſt occaſion. He never received accuſation againſt any of his officers, and never reckoned with them (count it as you pleaſe, careleſneſſe or noble confidence) becauſe he would not teach them to be diſhoneſt by ſuſpecting them. Nor is it the laſt and leaſt part of his praiſe, that William Archbiſhop of Tyre (ſo often mentioned) wrote the Holy warre at his inſtance. Once he angred the good Archbiſhop with this queſtion, * How the reſurrection of the body may be proved by reaſon? Hereat the good Prelate was much diſpleaſed, as counting it a dangerous queſtion wherewith one removeth a foundation-ſtone in Divinity, though with intent to lay it in the place again. But the King preſently proteſted, That he demanded it not out of any diffidence in himſelf about that article, but in caſe one ſhould meet with a ſturdy man, who (as too many now-a-dayes) would not truſt faith on her ſingle bond, except he have reaſon joyned for ſecurity with her. Hereupon the Archbiſhop alledged many ſtrong arguments to prove it, and both reſted well ſatisfied.

* *Tyrius, lib. 19. cap. 2.*

* *In Orat. pro Deiotaro.*

* *Tyrius, lib. 19. cap. 3.*

1163 Febr. 18.

Chap.

88

Anno Dom.

Chap. 34.

Eccleſiaſticall buſineſſe; A Sultan of Iconium, and the maſter of the Aſſaſines deſired to be chriſtened; The Common-wealth of the Aſſaſines deſcribed.

IN the Church of Jeruſalem we find Amalrick ſtill Patriarch: A Frenchman born, but little fit for the place to which he was preferred by the favour of Sibyll, Counteſſe of Flanders, the Kings ſiſter. Mean time the Church needed a Salick law, to forbid diſtaffs to meddle with mitres; and neither to be, nor to make Patriarchs.

But the moſt remarkable Church-matter in this Kings reigne, was the clandeſtine chriſtening of a Sultan of Iconium. And more of his courtiers might have followed him, but that his Embaſſadours being at Rome, were offended there with the vitiouſneſſe of Chriſtians lives; which made them to exclaim, * How can freſh and ſalt water flow from the ſame fountain? This hath made many Pagans ſtep back, which had one foot in our Church, when they have ſeen Chriſtians beleeve ſo well, and live ſo ill; breaking the Commandments againſt the Creed.

Baron. in anno 1169.

* *M. Paris, in anno* 1169.

1169.

Not long after, the great maſter of the Aſſaſines was really diſpoſed to receive our religion; and to this end ſent an Embaſſadour to King Almerick, which Embaſſadour was treacherouſly ſlain by one of the Templars. The * King demanded this murderer of the maſter of the Templars, that juſtice might paſſe upon him. But the maſter proudly anſwered, That he had already enjoyned him penance, and had directed to ſend him to the Pope, but ſtoutly refuſed to ſurrender him to the King. This cruel murder embittered the Aſſaſines more deſperately againſt the Chriſtians.

* *Tyrius, lib.* 20. *cap.* 32.

1173.

Theſe Aſſaſines were a preciſe ſect of Mahometans, and had in them the very ſpirits of that poyſonous ſuperſtition. They had ſome ſix cities, and were about fourty thouſand in number, living neare Antaradus in Syria. Over theſe was a chief maſter, (Hell it ſelf cannot ſubſiſt without a Beelzebub; ſo much order there is in the place of confuſion,) whom they called * The Old man of the mountains. At his command they would refuſe no pain or peril, but ſtab any Prince whom he appointed out to death; ſcorning not to find hands for his tongue, to perform what he enjoyned. At this day there are none of them extant, (except revived by the Jeſuites; for ſure Ignatius Loyola, the

* *M. Paris, anno* 1147. *P. Æmyl. in Ludov. jun.*

Anno Dom.

the lame father of blind obedience fetched his platform hence) being all, as it seems, slain by the * Tartarians, *Anno* 1257. But no tears need be shed at their funeralls: yea, pity it is that any pity should be lavished upon them, whose whole government was an engine built against humane society, worthy to be fired by all men; the body of their State being a very monstrosity, and a grievance of mankind.

89

* *M. Paris, (aut ejus Continuator) in anno* 1257

Chap. 35.

Dargan and Sanar two Egyptian Lords, contending about the Sultanie, Sanar calleth in the Turks to help him. Of the danger of mercenary souldiers; yet how, well qualified, they may be serviceable.

EGypt was the stage whereon the most remarkable passages in the reigne of King Almerick were acted. It will be necessary therefore to premise somewhat concerning the estate of that kingdome at this time. Whilest the Turks thus lorded it in Syria and the lesser Asia, the Saracen Caliph commanded in Egypt; under whom, two great Lords, Dargan and Sanar, fell out about the Sultanie or Vice-royship of that land. But Sanar fearing he should be worsted by Dargan, sued to Noradine King of the Turks at Damascus for aid: who sent him an army of Turks, under the command of Syracon an experienced Captain, against Sultan Dargan. So Dargan and Sanar met and fought. The victory was Dargans, but he enjoyed it not long, being shortly after slain by treachery; whereby Sanar recovered the Sultans place. Mean time how strange was the voluptuous lethargie of the Caliph Elhadach, to pursue his private pleasures, whilest his Vice-royes thus fought under his nose, and imployed forrein succours, yet he never regarded it; as if the tottering of his kingdome had rocked him fast asleep.

1165

Nor was he moved with that which followed, and more nearly concerned him. For Syracon the Turkish Captain, whom Sanar had gotten to come into Egypt, would not be intreated to go home again; but seized on the city of Belbis, fortified it, and there attended the arrivall of more Turks from Damascus, for the conquest of Egypt. Which afterwards they performed, the land being never completely cleared of them, till at last they conquered the whole kingdome, partly under this Syracon,

racon, and wholly under Saladine his nephew. *Anno Dom.*

And here my discourse (by the leave of the reader) must a little sally forth to treat of the danger of entertaining mercenary souldiers. They may perchance be called in with a whistle, but scarce cast out with a whip. If they be slugs, they indanger a State by their slothfulnesse; if spirited men, by their activity. Cesar Borgia, Machiavils idol, whose practice he maketh the pattern of policie, saith, * That he had rather be conquered with his own men, then be conquerour with an army of others; becaus he counted that conquest to be none at all.

* *Mach. Prince, cap. 9.* Se malle vinci suis armis quàm alienis victorem esse.

Yet good physick may be made of poyson well corrected: They may sometimes be necessary evils; yea, good and serviceable to defend a land, if thus qualified: First, if they have no command of castles, or place neare about the Princes person: for then they have a compendious way to treason, if they intend it. Secondly, if they be not entertained in too great numbers, but in such refracted degrees, that the natives may still have the predominancie: for a surfeit of forrein supplies is a disease incurable. Thirdly, if the Prince who imployeth them, hath their wives, children, and estates in his own hands; which will be both a caution and pawn for their fidelity, and will also interest their affections more cordially in the cause. Lastly, if they be of the same religion with them, and fight against the enemy of the religion of both: for then they are not purely hirelings, but parties in part, and the cause doth at least mediately concern them. I beleeve that it will scarcely be shown, that the Protestants have turned tails and betrayed them they came to assist.

We may observe, the Low-countreys have best thrived by setting this trade of journey-men-souldiers on work. Let them thank God and the good English: for if Francis Duke of Anjou with his Frenchmen had well succeeded, no doubt he would have spread his bread with their butter. Next them the Venetians have sped best: for they have the trick, when they find it equally dangerous to casheer their mercenary Generall or to entertain him any longer, fairly to kill him; as they served * Carmignola. England hath best thrived without them: under Gods protection we stand on our own legs. The last I find are an handfull of Almains used against * Kett in Norfolk in the dayes of King Edward the sixth. And let it be our prayers, That as for those hirelings which are to be last tried and least trusted, we never have want of their help, and never have too much of it.

* *Mach. Prince, cap. 8.*

* *Speed, Edward 6.*

Chap.

Anno Dom.

Chap. 36.

Sanar imploreth the aid of King Almerick; A ſolemn agreement made betwixt them, and ratified by the magnificent Caliph.

1166 SUltan Sanar perceiving himſelf preſſed and overlayed by theſe Turks, who with Syracon their Captain refuſed to return, and of aſſiſtants turned invaders, borrowed the help of Almerick King of Jeruſalem to avoid them out of Egypt. Whileſt Almerick marched thither, an unfortunate battel was fought betwixt Boemund the third of that name Prince of Antioch, Reimund Count of Tripoli, Calaman Grecian governour of Cilicia, and Joceline the third the titular Count of Edeſſa, on the one ſide; and Noradine King of the Turks, on the other. The Turks got the victory, and theſe foure Chriſtian Princes were taken priſoners; and their army loſt ſo much good bloud that day, that caſt it into an irrecoverable conſumption, and haſtened the ruine of this kingdome. Noradine following his blow, wonne Ceſarea-Philippi.

Aug. 10.

Aug. 18. Nevertheleſſe Almerick went on effectually in Egypt, and for a time expulſed the Turks out of this land. But Syracon would not ſo quickly quit the countrey; but goeth to the Caliph of Babylon (who was oppoſite to him of Egypt, each of them claiming as heir to Mahomet that falſe prophet, the ſoveraignty over all that were of the Saracen law) & offereth him his means for the exſtirpation of this ſchiſmaticall Caliph, and the reduction of all Egypt to the ſubjection of the Babylonian. The motion was joyfully entertained, and Syracon with a mighty power deſcendeth into Egypt.

Sanar affrighted hereat maketh new and larger proffers to King Almerick to ſtop this deluge of his enemies, and proffereth him a penſion of fourty thouſand ducats yearly for his behooffull aſſiſtance. But the King underſtanding that the Sultan (how much ſoever he took upon him) was ſubject to a higher Lord, would make no ſuch bargain with him, but with the Caliph himſelf; and therefore ſent his Embaſſadours, * Hugh Earl of Ceſarea, and a Knight-Templar, along with the Sultan to Caliph Elhadach then reſident at Cairo. Arriving at his palace, they paſſed through dark paſſages well guarded with armed Ethiopians. Hence they were conducted into goodly open * courts of ſuch beauty and riches, that they could not retain the gravity of Embaſſadours, but were enforced to admire the rarities they beheld. The farther they went, the greater the

* *Tyrius, lib. 19. cap. 16.*

* *Idem, cap. 18.*

92

state; till at last they were brought to the Caliphs own lodging. Where entring the presence, the Sultan thrice prostrated himself to the ground before the curtain behind which the Caliph sat. Presently the traverse wrought with pearls was opened, and the Caliph himself discovered, sitting with great majesty on a throne of gold, having few of his most inward eunuchs about him. *Anno Dom.*

The Sultan humbly kissed his masters feet, and briefly told him the cause of their coming, the danger wherein the land stood, the proffers he had made to King Almerick, desiring him now to ratifie them, and in demonstration thereof to give his hand to the Kings Embassadours. The Caliph demurred hereat, as counting such a gesture a diminution to his State; and at no hand would give him his hand bare, but gave it in his glove. To whom the resolute Earl of * Cesarea; Sir, said he, Truth seeketh no holes to hide it self. Princes that will hold covenant, must deal openly and nakedly: give us therefore your bare hand; we will make no bargain with your glove. He was loth to do it; but necessity (a more imperious Caliph then himself at this time) commanded it: and he did it at last, dismissing the Christian Embassadours with such gifts as testified his greatnesse.

* *Idem, cap.* 19.

According to this agreement King Almerick cordially prosecuted his businesse, improving his utmost might to expell Syracon with his Turks out of Egypt; whom he bade battel, and got the day though he lost all his baggage: So that the conquest in a manner was divided; the Turks gaining the wealth, the Christians the honour of the victorie. Following his blow, he pinned up the Turks afterward in the city of Alexandria, and forced them to receive of him conditions of peace, and then returned himself with honour to Askelon. 1167 *Sept.* 21.

Chap. 37.

Almerick against his promise invadeth Egypt; His perjury punished with the future ruine of the kingdome of Jerusalem; His death.

WHen a Crown is the prize of the game, we must never expect fair play of the gamesters. King Almerick having looked on the beauty of the kingdome of Egypt, he longed for it: and now no longer to drive out the relicks of the Turks, but to get Egypt to himself: And the next yeare, against the 1168

Anno Dom.

the solemn league with the Caliph, invaded it with a great army. He falsely pretended that the Caliph would make a private peace with Noradine King of the Turks; and hence created his quarrel. For he hath a barren brain, who cannot fit himself with an occasion if he hath a desire to fall out. But Gilbert master of the Hospitallers chiefly stirred up the King to this warre, upon promise that the city and countrey of Pelusium, if conquered, should be given to his order. The Templars were much against the designe (one of their order was Embassadour at the ratifying of the peace) and with much zeal protested against it, as undertaken against oath and fidelity.

An oath being the highest appeal, perjury must needs be an hainous sinne, whereby God is solemnly invited to be witnesse of his own dishonour. And as bad is a God-mocking equivocation: For he that surpriseth truth with an ambush, is as bad an enemy as he that fighteth against her with a flat lie in open field. I know what is pleaded for King Almerick, namely, That Christians are not bound to keep faith with idolaters, the worshippers of a false god, as the Egyptian Caliph was on the matter. But open so wide a window, and it will be in vain to shut any doores. All contracts with Pagans may easily be voided, if this evasion be allowed. But what saith S. Hierome, *It matters not to whom, but by whom we swear. And God to acquit himself, knowing the Christians prosperity could not stand with his justice after their perjury, frowned upon them. And from hence authours date the constant ill successe of the Holy warre. For though this expedition sped well at the first, and Almerick wonne the citie of Belbis or Pelusium, yet see what a cloud of miseries ensued.

* Non considerandum cui, sed per quem juraveris, *Comment. 17. Ezech.*

First, Noradine in his absence wasted and wonne places neare Antiochia at pleasure.

1167 Sept. 21.

Secondly, * Meller Prince of Armenia, a Christian, made a covenant with Noradine, and kept it most constantly, to the inestimable disadvantage of the King of Jerusalem. This act of Meller must be condemned, but withall Gods justice admired. Christians break their covenant with Saracens in Egypt, whilest other Christians, to punish them, make and keep covenant with Turks in Asia.

* *Centuriſt. Centur. 12. in Almerico.*

Thirdly, the Saracens grew good souldiers on a sudden: who were naked at first, and onely had bows; but now learned from the Christians to use all offensive and defensive weapons. Thus rude nations alwayes better themselves in fighting with a skilfull enemy. How good mark-men are the Irish now-adayes, which some seventy yeares ago, at the beginning of their rebellions, had three men to discharge a * hand-gunne!

1168

* *Morison, in the description of Ireland, anno 1598.*

Fourthly, Almericks hopes of conquering Egypt were frustrated;

94

strated; for after some victories he was driven out, and that whole kingdome conquered by Saladine (nephew to Syracon) who killed the Caliph with his horse-mace as he came to do him reverence, and made himself the absoluteſt Turkish King of Egypt. And presently after the death of Noradine, the kingdome of the Turks at Damascus was by their consent bestowed upon him. Indeed Noradine left a sonne, Melexala, who commanded in part of his fathers dominions; but Saladine after his death got all for himself. Thus rising men shall still meet with more stairs to raise them; as those of falling, with stumbling-blocks to ruine them.

Anno Dom.

1173 *May.*

Mean time Jerusalem was a poore weather-beaten kingdome, bleak and open to the storm of enemies on all sides, having no covert or shelter of any good friend neare it, lying in the lions mouth betwixt his upper and nether jaw; Damascus on the North, and Egypt on the South; two potent Turkish kingdomes, united under a puissant Prince, Saladine. This made Almerick send for succours into Europe: for now few voluntaries came to this service; souldiers must be pressed with importunity. Our Western Princes were prodigall of their pity, but niggardly of their help: The heat of the warre in Palestine had cooled their desires to go thither: which made these Embassadours to return without supplies, having gone farre to fetch home nothing but discomfort and despair.

Lastly, King Almerick himself wearied with whole volleys of miseries, ended his life of a bloudy flux, having reigned eleven full yeares; and was buried with his predecessours: Leaving two children, Baldwine and Sibyll, by Agnes his first wife: and by Mary his second wife (daughter to John Proto-Sebastus, a Grecian Prince) one daughter, Isabell; married * afterwards to Hemphred the third, Prince of Thorone.

* *Tyrius, lib. 22. cap. 5.*

Chap. 38.

Baldwine the fourth succeedeth; His education under William the reverend Archbishop of Tyre.

BAldwine his sonne, the fourth of that name, succeeded his father: so like unto him, that we report the reader to the character of King Almerick, and will spare the repeating his description. Onely he differed in the temper of his bodie, being enclined to the leprosie called Elephantiasis, noysome to the patient,

1174 *July* 15.

Anno Dom.

patient, but not infectious to the company: not like King Uzziahs, but Naamans leproſie; which had it been contagious, no doubt the King of Aſſyria, when he went into the houſe of Rimmon, would have choſen another ſupporter. Mean time the kingdome was as ſick as the King; he of a leproſie, that of an incurable conſumption. 95

This Baldwine had the benefit of excellent education under William Archbiſhop of Tyre, a pious man and excellent ſcholar, skilled in all the learned Orientall tongues, beſides the Dutch, and French his native language; a moderate and faithfull writer: For in the latter part of his hiſtory of the Holy warre, his eye guided his hand, till at laſt the taking of the city of Jeruſalem ſo ſhook his hand, that his penne fell out, and he wrote no more. Treaſurer he was of all the money contributed to the Holy warre; Chancellour of this kingdome; imployed in ſeverall Embaſſies in the Weſt; preſent at the Lateran Councel, the acts whereof he did record: * Cardinall he might have been, but refuſed it: In a word, unhappy onely that he lived in that age, though that age was happy he lived in it.

* *Centuriſt. Centur. in Epiſcopis.*

Chap. 39.

The vitiouſneſſe of Heraclius the Patriarch of Jeruſalem; His Embaſſie to Henry the ſecond, King of England, with the ſucceſſe; The Maronites reconciled to the Romane Church.

1181. AFter the death of Almerick Patriarch of Jeruſalem, Heraclius was by the Queen-mother Mary, ſecond wife to King Almerick, for his handſomeneſſe preferred to be Patriarch. * William Archbiſhop of Tyre was violent againſt his election, becauſe of a propheſie, That as Heraclius King of Perſia wonne, ſo an Heraclius ſhould loſe the Croſſe. But others excepted, that this exception was nothing worth: For let God give the man, and let the devil ſet the name. As for thoſe blind propheſies, they miſſe the truth ofter then hit it; ſo that no wiſe man will lean his belief on ſo ſlender a prop. But Heraclius had a worſe name then his name, the bad report of his vitious life; keeping a Vintners wife, whom he maintained in all ſtate like an Empreſſe, and owned the children he had by her: Her name * *Paſcha de Rivera*; and ſhe was generally ſaluted, The * Patriarcheſſe. His example infected the inferiour clergie; whoſe

* *Beſoldus, De reg. Hieroſ. pag. 282.*

* *Beſoldus, pag. 284.*

* Patriarchiſſa, *Marinus San. lib. 3. part. 6. cap. 24.*

96

whose corruption was a sad presage of the ruine of the realm: For when Prelates the Seers, when once those eye-strings begin to break, the heart-strings hold not out long after. *Anno Dom.*

In his time the Maronites were reconciled to the Romane Church. Their main errour was the heresie of the Monothelites, touching one onely will and action in Christ. For after that the heresie of Nestorius about two persons in our Saviour was detested in the Eastern Churches, some thought not themselves safe enough from the heresie of two persons, till they were fallen with the opposite extremity of one nature in Christ: violence making men reel from one extreme to another. The errour once broched, found many embracers: As no opinion so monstrous, but if it hath had a mother, it will get a nurse. But now these Maronites renouncing their tenents, received the Catholick faith; though soon after, when Saladine had conquered their countrey, they relapsed to their old errours: wherein they continued till the late times of Pope Gregory the thirteenth, and Clement the eighth, when they again renewed their communion with the Romane Church. They live at this day on mount Libanus, not exceeding twelve thousand households, and pay to the great Turk for every one above twelve yeares old, * seventeen sultanines by the yeare; and for every space of ground sixteen spanne square, one sultanine yearly; to keep themselves free from the mixture of Mahometanes. A * sultanine is about seven shillings six pence of our money. 1182.

* *Possevine, Appar. sacr. in Maron.*

* *Brierwood, Enquiries, cap. 25.*

To return to Heraclius; Soon after he was sent Embassadour to Henry the second, King of England, to crave his personall assistance in the Holy warre, delivering unto him the Royall standard, with the keyes of our Saviours sepulchre, the towre of David, and the city of Jerusalem, sent him by King Baldwine. King Henry was singled out for this service before other Princes, because the world justly reported him valiant, wise, rich, powerfull, and fortunate: And (which was the main) hereby he might expiate his murder, and gather up again the innocent bloud which he had shed of Thomas Becket. Besides, Heraclius entituled our Henry to the kingdome of Jerusalem, because Geoffrey Plantagenet his father was sonne (some say, brother) to Fulk the fourth, King of Jerusalem. But King Henry was too wise to bite at such a bait, wherein was onely the husk of title, without the kernel of profit. Yet he pretended he would go into Palestine; and got hereby a masse of money towards his voyage: making every one, as well Clerk as Lay (saving such as went) to pay that yeare the tenth of all their revenues, moveables, and chattells, as well in gold as in silver. Of every citie in England he chose the richest men; as in London two hundred, in York an hundred, and so in proportion: 1185.

Anno Dom.

portion : and took the tenth of all their moveables, by the * estimation of credible men who knew their estates ; imprisoning those which refused to pay, *sub eleemosynæ titulo vitium rapacitatis includens*, saith Walsingham. But now when he had filled his purse, all expected he should fulfill his promise ; when all his voyage into Palestine turned into a journey into France.

Heraclius, whilest he stayed in England, consecrated the Temple-church in the suburbs of London, and the house adjoyning belonging to the Templars ; since turned to a better use, for the students of our municipall Law ; these new Templars defending one Christian from another, as the old ones Christians from Pagans.

97

* *Daniel, in Henry 2.*

Chap. 40.

Saladine fitteth himself with forrein forces. The originall and great power of the Mammalukes, with their first service.

IN the minority of King Baldwine, who was but thirteen yeares old, Milo de Planci a Noble-man was Protectour of the Realm : Whose pride and insolence could not be brooked ; and therefore he was stabbed at Ptolemais, and Reimund Count of Tripoli chosen to succeed him.

Now Saladine seriously intendeth to set on the Kingdome of Jerusalem, and seeketh to furnish himself with souldiers for that service. But he perceived that the ancient nation of the Egyptians had lasted so long, that now it ranne dregs ; their spirits being as low as the countrey they lived in, and they fitter to make merchants and mechanicks then military men : For they were bred in such soft imployments, that they were presently foundred with any hard labour. Wherefore he sent to the Circassians by the lake of Meotis, neare Taurica Chersonesus, and thence bought many slaves of able and active bodies. For it was a people born in a hard countrey (no fewel for pleasure grew there nor was brought thither) and bred harder ; so that warre was almost their nature, with custome of continuall skirmishing with the neighbouring Tartars.

These slaves he trained up in military discipline, most of them being Christians once baptized ; but afterwards untaught Christ, they learned Mahomet, and so became the worse foes to religion for once being her friends. These proved excellent souldiers and speciall horsemen, and are called Mammalukes. And

98

surely the greatnesse of Saladine and his successours stood not so much on the legs of their native Egyptians, as it leaned on the staff of these strangers. Saladine, and especially the Turkish Kings after him, gave great power, and placed much trust in these * Mammalukes: Who lived a long time in ignorance of their own strength, till at last they took notice of it, and scorning any longer to be factours for another, they would set up for themselves, and got the sovereignty from the Turkish Kings. Thus Princes who make their subjects over-great, whet a knife for their own throats. And posterity may chance to see the insolent Janizaries give the grand Seignor such a trip on the heel as may tumble him on his back. But more largely of these Mammalukes usurping the kingdome of Egypt (God willing) in its proper place.

* *Tyrius, lib. 21. cap. 23.*

Thus Saladine having furnished himself with new souldiers, went to handsel their valour upon the Christians; invaded the Holy land, burning all the countrey before him, and raging in the bloud of poore Christians, till he came and encamped about Askelon.

Mean time whilest Reimund Count of Tripoli, Protectour of the Kingdome, with Philip Earl of Flanders, & the chief strength of the Kingdome were absent in Celosyria, wasting the countrey about Emissa and Cesarea, young King Baldwine lay close in Askelon, not daring to adventure on so strong an enemy. With whose fear Saladine encouraged, dispersed his army, some one way, some another, to forrage the countrey. King Baldwine courted with this opportunity, marched out privately, not having past foure hundred horse, with some few footmen, and assaulted his secure enemies, being six and twenty thousand. But victory standeth as little in the number of souldiers, as verity in the plurality of voices. The Christians got the conquest, and in great triumph returned to Jerusalem.

This overthrow rather madded then daunted Saladine: Who therefore to recover his credit, some moneths after with his Mammalukes fell like a mighty tempest upon the Christians, as they were parting the spoil of a band of Turks, whom they had vanquished; put many to the sword, the rest to flight. Otto grand Master of the Templars, and Hugh sonne in law to the Count of Tripoli, were taken prisoners; and the King himself had much ado to escape. And thus both sides being well wearied with warre, they were glad to refresh themselves with a short slumber of a truce solemnly concluded; and their troubled estates breathed almost for the space of two yeares. Which truce Saladine the more willingly embraced, because of a famine in the kingdome of Damascus, where it had scarce * rained for five yeares together.

* *Centurist. Cent. 12. in Baldvino 4.*

Anno Dom.

1176 *Nov.* 25.

1179

Chap.

Anno Dom.

Chap. 41.

The fatall jealouſies betwixt the King and Reimund Earl of Tripoli.

1181 BUt this ſo welcome a calm was troubled with domeſticall diſcords. For the Kings mother (a woman of a turbulent ſpirit) and her brother his ſteward, accuſed Reimund Count of Tripoli, governour of the Realm in the Kings minority, as if he affected the Crown for himſelf: which accuſation this Earl could never wholly wipe off. For ſlender and lean ſlanders quickly conſume themſelves; but he that is branded with an hainous crime (though falſe) when the wound is cured, his credit will be killed with the ſcarre. Before we go further, let us view this Earl Reimunds diſpoſition, and we ſhall find him marked to do miſchief, and to ruine this Realm. He was ſonne to Reimund, grandchild to Pontius Earl of Tripoli, by Cecilie the daughter of*Philip King of France, great-grandchild to Bertram firſt Earl of Tripoli, great-great-grandchild to Reimund Earl of Tholoſe, one of ſpeciall note amongſt the primitive adventurers in the Holy warre. His mother was Hodiern, third daughter of Baldwine the ſecond, King of Jeruſalem. A man whoſe ſtomach was as high as his birth; and very ſerviceable to this State, whileſt the ſharpneſſe of his parts were uſed againſt the Turks; which at laſt turned edge againſt the Chriſtians: Proud, not able to digeſt the leaſt wrong; and though long in captivity amongſt the Turks, yet a very treuant in the ſchool of affliction, who never learned the leſſon of patience: So revengefull, that he would ſtrike his enemy, though it were through the ſides of religion and the Chriſtian cauſe. For this preſent accuſation of treaſon, good authours ſeem to be his compurgatours for this at this time, though afterwards he diſcovered his treacherous intents. And becauſe he could not riſe by his ſervice, he made his ſervice fall by him; and undid what he had done for the publick good, becauſe thereby he could not attain his private ends. He commanded over the Earldome of Tripoli, which was a territory of large extent, wherein he was abſolute Lord. And by the way we may take notice of this as one of the banes of the Kingdome of Jeruſalem, That the principalities of Antioch, Tripoli, and Edeſſa (whileſt it was Chriſtian) were branches of this Kingdome, but too big for the body: For the Princes thereof on each petty diſtaſt would ſtand on their guard; as if they had been ſubjects out of courteſie, not conſcience: and though they confeſſed they owed the King alle-

* *Tyrius, lib. 21. cap. 5.*

100 allegeance, yet they would pay no more then they thought fitting themselves. *Anno Dom.*

To return to King Baldwine; This suspicion of Earl Reimund, though at first but a buzze, soon got a sting in the Kings head, and he violently apprehended it. Whereupon Reimund coming to Jerusalem, was by the way commanded to stay, to his great disgrace. But some of the Nobility foreseeing what danger this discord might bring, reconciled them with much labour. However, Baldwine ever after looked on this Earl with a jealous eye. Jealousie, if it be fire in private persons, is wild-fire in Princes, who seldome rase out their names whom once they have written in their black bills. And as the Italian proverb is, Suspicion giveth a passe-port to faith to set it on packing; so this Earl finding himself suspected, was never after cordially loyall, smothering his treachery in this Kings life, which afterwards broke forth into an open flame.

Chap. 42.

Saladine is conquered by King Baldwine, and conquereth Mesopotamia; Discords about the Protectourship of Jerusalem; The death, and praise of Baldwine the fourth.

THe kingdome of Damascus being recovered of the famine, Saladine having gotten his ends by the truce, would now have the truce to end; and breaking it (as not standing with his haughty designes) marched with a great army out of Egypt through Palestine to Damascus, much spoiling the countrey. And now having joyned the Egyptian with the Damascene forces, re-entred the Holy land. But young King Baldwine meeting him, though but with seven hundred to twenty thousand, at the village Frobolet, overthrew him in a great battel; and Saladine himself was glad with speedy flight to escape the danger, and by long marches to get him again to Damascus. Afterward he besieged Berytus both by sea & land: but the vigilancie and valour of King Baldwine defeated his taking of it.

Centuriat. Cent. 12. in Baldvino 4.

Saladine finding such tough resistance in the Holy land, thought to make a better purchase by laying out his time in Mesopotamia. Wherefore passing Euphrates, he wonne Charran and divers other cities: and then returning, in Syria besieged Aleppo the strongest place the Christians had in that countrey;

so

Anno Dom.

so fortified by nature, that he had little hope to force it. But treason will runne up the steepest ascent, where valour it self can scarce creep: and Saladine with the battery of bribes made such a breach in the loyaltie of the governour, that he betrayed it unto him. 101

Thus he cometh again into the Holy land more formidable then ever before, carrying an army of terrour in the mentioning of his name, which drove the poore Christians all into their fenced cities. As for King Baldwine, the leprosie had arrested him prisoner, and kept him at home. Long had this Kings spirit endured this infirmity, swallowing many a bitter pang with a smiling face, and going upright with patient shoulders under the weight of his disease. It made him put all his might to it, because when he yeelded to his sickness, he must leave off the managing of the State; and he was loth to put off his royall robes before he went to bed, a Crown being too good a companion for one to part with willingly. But at last he
1183 was made to stoop, and retired himself to a private life, appointing Baldwine his nephew (a child of five yeares old) his successour; and Guy Earl of Joppa and Askelon, this childs father in law, to be Protectour of the Realm in his minority.

But soon after he revoked this latter act, and designed Reimund Earl of Tripoli for the Protectour. He displaced Guy, because he found him of no over-weight worth, scarce passable without favourable allowance, little feared of his foes, and as little loved of his friends. The more martiall Christians sleighted him as a slug, and neglected so lazy a leader that could not keep pace with those that were to follow him: Yea, they refused (whilest he was Protectour) at his command to fight with Saladine; and out of distast to their Generall, suffered their enemie freely to forrage; which was never done before: For the Christians never met any Turks wandring in the Holy land, but on even terms they would examine their passe-port how sufficient it was, and bid them battel.

Guy stormed at his displacing, and though little valiant, yet very sullen, left the Court in discontent, went home, and fortified his cities of Joppa and Askelon. What should King Baldwine do in this case? Whom should he make Protectour? Guy had too little, Reimund too much spirit for the place. He feared Guy's cowardlinesse, lest he should lose the kingdome to the Turks; and Reimunds treachery, lest he should get it for himself. Thus anguish of mind and weakness of bodie (a doughtie conquest for their united strengths, which single might suffice) ended this Kings dayes, dying young at five and twenty yeares of age. But if by the morning we may guesse at the day, he would have been no whit inferiour to any of his predecessours;

102 fours; especially if his body had been able: but (alas!) it spoiled the musick of his soul, that the instrument was quite out of tune. He reigned twelve yeares, and was buried in the Temple of the Sepulchre: a King happie in this, that he died before the death of his Kingdome.

Anno Dom. 1185 *May* 16.

Chap. 43.

The short life, and wofull death of Baldwine the fifth an infant. Guy his father in law succeedeth him.

Camd. Brit. in the descript. of the countie of Dublin.

IT is a rare happinesse of the family of S. Laurence, Barons of Hoath in Ireland, that the heirs for 400 yeares together alwayes have been of age before the death of their fathers: For Minors have not onely baned families, but ruined realms. It is one of Gods threatnings; I will give children to be their Princes, and babes shall rule over them. With this rod God strook the Kingdome of Jerusalem thrice in 40 yeares; Baldwine the third, fourth, and fifth, being all under age; and this last but five yeares old. He was the posthumus sonne of William Marquesse of Montferrat, by Sibyll his wife, sister to Baldwine the fourth, daughter to King Almerick: She afterwards was married to Guy Earl of Joppa and Askelon. 1185

Isa. 3. 4.

Now Reimund Earl of Tripoli challenged to be Protectour of this young King, by the vertue of an Act of the former King so assigning him. But Sibyll mother to this infant, to defeat Reimund, first murdered all naturall affection in her self, and then by poyson murdered her sonne; that so the Crown in her right might come to her husband Guy. This Baldwine reigned eight moneths, eight dayes; saith mistaken Munster: and some mistake more, who make him not to reigne at all; cruel to wrong his memorie of his honour, whom his mother had robbed both of his life and Kingdome.

Cosmog. lib. 5. in terra sancta.

His death was concealed, till Guy his father in law had obtained by large bribes to the Templars and Heraclius the Patriarch, to be crowned King: One more ennobled with his descent from the ancient family of the Lusignans in Poictou, then for any * eminencie in himself: His gifts were better then his endowments. Yet had he been more fortunate, he would have been accounted more vertuous; men commonly censuring that the fault of the King, which is the fate of the kingdome.

* *Tyrius, lib. 22. cap. 25. & 27. calleth him* hominem indiscretum & penitus inutilem.

Anno Dom.

dome. And now the Christian affairs here posted to their wofull period, being spurred on by the discords of the Princes. 103

Chap. 44.

Church-affairs: Of Haymericus Patriarch of Antioch; Of the Grecian Anti-patriarchs; and of the learned Theodorus Balsamon.

WHilest Heraclius did Patriarch it in Jerusalem, one Haymericus had the same honour at Antioch. He wrote to Henry the second King of England, a bemoning letter of the Christians in the East, and from him received another, fraught with never-performed fair promises. This man must needs be different from that Haymericus who began his Patriarchship in Antioch *anno* 1143, and sat but twelve yeares, say the * Centuriatours: But * Baronius, as different from them sometimes in Chronologie as Divinitie, maketh them the same. Then must he be a through-old man, enjoying his place above fourtie yeares; being probably before he wore the style of Patriarch, well worn in yeares himself. I must confesse, it passeth my Chymistrie to extract any agreement herein out of the contrariety of writers. We must also take notice, that besides the Latine Patriarchs in Jerusalem and Antioch, there were also Grecian Anti-patriarchs appointed by the Emperour of Constantinople: who having no temporall power nor profit by Church-lands, had onely jurisdiction over those of the Greek Church. We find not the chain of their succession, but here and there light on a link; and at this time in Jerusalem on three successively: 1. Athanasius; whom though * one out of his abundant charitie is pleased to style a Schismatick, yet was he both pious and learned, as appeareth by his epistles. 2. Leontius, * commended likewise to posteritie for a good Clerk and an honest man. 3. Dositheus, * inferiour to the former in both respects: Isaac the Grecian Emperour sent to make him Patriarch of Constantinople; and Dositheus catching at both, held neither, but betwixt two Patriarchs chairs fell to the ground.

Antioch also had her Greek Patriarchs: As one Sotericus, displaced for maintaining some unsound tenets about our Saviour: After him Theodorus Balsamon, the oracle of the learned Law in his age. He compiled and commented on the ancient Canons; and principally set forth the priviledges of Constan-

* *Centur.12. in Episcop.*
* *Annal.Eccl. in Haymerico.*

* *Baronius, in anno* 1180.

* *Nicetas Choniates, in Isaacio Angelo, p.438.*
* *Idem ibidem.*

104

Anno Dom.

Constantinople; listening, say the Romanists, to the least noise that soundeth to the advancing of the Eastern Churches, and knocking down Rome whereſoever it peepeth above Constantinople. This maketh Bellarmine except against him as a partiall writer; becauſe a true Hiſtorian ſhould be neither partie, advocate, nor judge, but a bare witneſſe.

* *Nicetas Chon. in Isacio, pag. 440.*

By* Isaac the Grecian Emperour this Balſamon was alſo deceived: he pretended to remove him to Conſtantinople, on condition he would prove the tranſlation of the Patriarch to be legall, which is forbidden by the Canons. Balſamon took upon him to prove it: and a Lawyers brains will beat to purpoſe when his own preferment is the fee. But herein he did but crack the nut for another to eat the kernel: For the Emperour mutable in his mind, changing his favourites as well as his clothes before they were old, when the legality of the tranſlation was avowed, beſtowed the Patriarchſhip of Conſtantinople on another; and Theodorus was ſtill ſtaked down at Antioch in a true ſpirituall preferment, affording him little bodily maintenance.

Chap. 45.

The revolt of the Earl of Tripoli; The Chriſtians irrecoverably overthrown, and their King taken priſoner.

THere was at this time a truce betwixt the Chriſtians and Saladine, broken on this occaſion: Saladines mother went from Egypt to Damaſcus, with much treaſure and a little train, as ſufficiently guarded with the truce yet in force: when Reinold of Caſtile ſurpriſed and robbed her. Saladine glad of this occaſion, gathereth all his ſtrength together, and beſiegeth Ptolemais. 1187

Now Reimund Earl of Tripoli appeareth in his colours, vexed at the loſſe of the government. His great ſtomach hath no room for patience: and his paſſions boyled from a fever to a phrenſie; ſo that blinded with anger at King Guy, he miſtaketh his enemy, and will be revenged on God and religion; revolting with his Principalitie (a third part of the Kingdome of Jeruſalem) to Saladine; and in his own perſon under a viſard, aſſiſted him in this ſiege.

Out of the citie marched the Templars and Hoſpitallers, and falling on the Turks killed twentie thouſand of them. *May* 1.

Yet

Anno Dom.

Yet they gave welnigh a valuable conſideration for their victory, the maſter of the Hoſpitallers being ſlain; and a brave Generall in battel never dieth unattended.

Saladine hereupon raiſeth his ſiege; and Reimund Earl of Tripoli, whether out of fear the Chriſtians might prevail, or remorſe of conſcience, or diſcontent, not finding that reſpect he expected of Saladine (who had learned that politick maxime, To give ſome honour, no truſt to a fugitive) reconciled himſelf to King Guy; and ſory for his former offenſe, returned to the Chriſtians.

King Guy hereupon gathering the whole ſtrength of his weak Kingdome to do their laſt devoir, determined to bid Saladine battel; though having but fifteen hundred horſe and fifteen thouſand foot, againſt an hundred and twenty thouſand horſe and an hundred and ſixty thouſand foot. Nigh Tiberias the battel was fought: They cloſe in the afternoon; but night moderating betwixt them, both ſides drew their ſtakes till next morning: then on afreſh. The Chriſtians valour poiſed the number of their enemies; till at laſt the diſtemper of the weather turned the ſcales to the Turks ſide. More Chriſtians (thirſty within and ſcalded without) were killed with the beams the ſunne darted then with the arrows the enemies ſhot. Reinold of Caſtile was ſlain, with moſt of the Templars and Hoſpitallers. * Gerard Maſter of the Templars, and Boniface Marqueſſe of Montferrat were taken priſoners; and alſo Guy the King, who ſaw the reſt of his ſervants ſlain before his eyes, onely obtaining of Saladine the life of his ſchoolmaſter. Yea, in this battel the flower of the Chriſtian chevalrie was cut down: and what was moſt lamented, the Croſſe (ſaith Matthew Paris) which freed men from the captivity of their ſinnes, was for mens ſinnes taken captive. Moſt impute this overthrow to the Earl of Tripoli, who that day commanded a great part of the Chriſtian army, and is ſaid of ſome treacherouſly to have fled away. But when a great action miſcarrieth, the blame muſt be laid on ſome; and commonly it lighteth on them who formerly have been found falſe, be it right or wrong: So impoſſible is it for him who once hath broken his credit by treaſon, ever to have it perfectly joynted again. It increaſeth the ſuſpicion, becauſe this Earl, afterwards found dead in his bed (as ſome ſay) was circumciſed.

July 3. 4.

* *Beſoldus, in Guidone; ex Cruſio.*

Victorious Saladine, as he had thrown a good caſt, played it as well; in a moneth conquering Berytus, Biblus, Ptolemais, and all the havens (Tyre excepted) from Sidon to Askelon. He uſed his conqueſt with much moderation, giving lives & goods to all, and forcing no Chriſtians to depart their cities, ſave onely the Latines. This his gentleneſſe proceeded from policy, well knowing that if the Chriſtians could not buy their lives cheap, they

106 would sell them deare, and fight it out to the uttermost. Askelon was stout, and would not surrender. Wherefore Saladine, loth with the hazard of so long a siege to check his fortune in the full speed, left it, and went to Jerusalem, as to a place of lesse difficulty and more honour to conquer. *Anno Dom.*

Chap. 46.

Jerusalem wonne by the Turk, with wofull remarkables thereat.

BEfore the beginning of the siege, the* sunne, as synipathizing with the Christians woes, was eclipsed. A sad presage of the losse of Jerusalem. For though those within the city valiantly defended it for a fortnight, yet they saw it was but the playing out of a desperate game which must be lost: Their foes neare, their friends farre off; and those willing to pity, unable to help. Why then should they prolong languishing, where they could not preserve life? Concluding to lavish no more valour, they yeelded up the city, on condition all their lives might be redeemed, a man for ten, a woman for five, a child for* one besant: and fourteen thousand poore people not able to pay their ransome, were kept in perpetuall bondage. All Latines were cast out of the citie; but those of the Greek religion were permitted to stay therein: Onely Saladine to two Frenchmen gave liberty to abide there, and maintenance to live on, in reverence to their age: the one Robert of Corbie, a souldier to Godfrey of Bouillon when he wanne this citie; the other Fulk Fiole, the first child born in the citie after the Christians had conquered it. *Sept.* 4. *Octo.* 2.

Saladine possessed of Jerusalem, turned the churches into stables, sparing onely that of the Sepulchre for a great summe of money. Solomons Temple he converted to a Mosque, sprinkling it all over with rose-water, as if he would wash it from profaneneſse, whilest he profaned it with his washing.

Thus Jerusalem after it had foureſcore and eight yeares been enjoyed by the Christians, by Gods just judgement was taken again by the Turks. What else could be expected? Sinne reigned in every corner; there was scarce* one honest woman in the whole city of Jerusalem. Heraclius the Patriarch, with the Clergie, was desperately vitious: and no wonder if iron rust, when gold doth; and if the Laity followed their bad example.

This dolefull news brought into Europe, filled all with sighs and sorrows. Pope Urbane the third (as another Eli at the Arks capti-

** M. Paris, in anno 1187.*

Besoldus, in Guidone, pag. 285.

**Besoldus, in Guidone, pag. 284.*

Anno Dom.

captivity) died for grief: The Cardinals lamented out of measure, vowing such reformation of manners; Never more to take bribes, Never more to live so vitiously; yea, Never to ride on an * horse so long as the Holy land was under the feet of the Turks. But this their passion spent it self with its own violence; and these mariners vows ended with the tempest.

In this generall grief of Christendome there was one woman found to rejoyce, and she a German Propheteſſe called S. Christian, a virgin. Who as she had foretold the day of the defeat, so on the same she professed that she saw in a vision Christ and his Angels rejoycing. For the losse of the earthly Canaan was gain to the heavenly; peopling it with many inhabitants, who were conquerours in their overthrow; whilest they * requited Christs passion, and died for him who suffered for them. But for the truth both of the doctrine and historie hereof, none need burden their beleef farther then they please. We will conclude all with Roger Hovedens witty descant on the time: *When Jerusalem was wonne by the Christians, and afterwards when it was lost, an Urbane was Pope of Rome, a Frederick Emperour of Germany, an Heraclius Patriarch of Jerusalem. But by his leave, though the first of his observations be true, the second is a flat falsitie, the third a foul mistake, and may thus be mended: (It is charity to lend a crutch to a lame conceit) When the Crosse was taken from the Persians, Heraclius was Emperour; and when it was taken from the Turks, Heraclius was Patriarch. Thus these curious observations (like over-small watches) not one of a hundred goeth true. Though it cannot be denied, but the same name (as Henry of England, one the winne-all, another the lose-all in France) hath often been happy and unhappy in founding and confounding of kingdomes. But such nominall toyes are rags not worth a wise mans stooping to take them up.

* *Roger Hoveden, in Henrico 2. anno 1187.*

* Quandam morti Salvatoris vicem cum multa devotione rependunt, *Baronius, in anno 1187.*

* *Loco priùs citato.*

The end of the second Book.

The Historie of the HOLY WARRE.

Book III.

Chap. 1.

Conrade of Montferrat valiantly defendeth Tyre, and is chosen King.

Anno Dom. 1187

IN this wofull estate stood the Christian affairs in the Holy land, when Conrade Marquesse of Montferrat arrived there. His worth commandeth my penne to wait on him from his own countrey till he came hither. Sonne he was to Boniface Marquesse of Montferrat, and had spent his youth in the service of Isaacius Angelus the Grecian Emperour. This Isaacius, fitter for a Priest then a Prince, was alwayes bred in a private way; and the confining of his body seemeth to have brought him to a pent and narrow soul. For he suffered rebells to affront him to his face, never sending any army against them, but commending all his cause to a company of bare-footed Friars whom he kept in his Court, desiring them to pray for him, and by their pious tears to quench the combustions in the Empire. But our Conrade plainly told him, he must use as well the weapons of the * left hand as of the right; meaning the sword as well as prayers: And by the advice of this his Generall, he quickly subdued all his enemies. Which his great service found small reward: * onely he was graced to wear his shoes of the Imperiall fashion; a low matter, but there (forsooth) accounted an high honour. But soon after Isaac was sick of this Physician who had cured his Empire. If private debters care not for the company of their creditours, much lesse do Princes love to see them to whom they ow themselves and their kingdome: so unwelcome are courtesies to them when above their requitall. Now it is an

* *Nicetas, in Isaacio Angelo, lib. 1. §. 7.*

* *Nicetas, in Isaacio Angelo, lib. 2. §. 1.* Μόνον τὸ μὲν τοῖς πολλοῖς ὁμόχρουν ὑπόδημα τῆς ποδὸς· τὸ τῶν Καισάρων λέγω πυρόσημον

110

ancient policie, to rid away high ſpirits by ſending them on ſome plauſible errand into remote parts, there to ſeek for themſelves an honourable grave. To this end Iſaacius by the perſwaſions of ſome ſpurred on Conrade (free enough of himſelf to any noble action) to go into Paleſtine, there to ſupport the ruinous affairs of the Chriſtians. Conrade was ſenſible of their plot, but ſuffered himſelf to be wrought on, being weary of the Grecians baſeneſſe; and came into the Holy land with a brave company of Gentlemen furniſhed on their own coſt.

Anno Dom.

For a while we ſet him aſide, and return to Saladine: Who by this time had taken Askelon, on condition that King Guy, and Gerard maſter of the Templars ſhould be ſet at liberty. Nor long after was the caſtle of Antioch betrayed unto him by the * Patriarch; and the citie, ſcarce got with eleven moneths ſiege, was loſt in an inſtant, with five and twenty ſtrong towns more which attended the fortune of Antioch: and many provinces thereto belonging came into the poſſeſſion of the Turks. Muſt not the Chriſtians needs be bankrupts if they continue this trade, buying deare and ſelling cheap, gaining by inches and loſing by ells?

* *Sabell. Enn. 9. lib. 5. pag. 377.*

Hoveden.

With better ſucceſſe thoſe in Tripoli (which citie the wife of Earl Reimund after his death delivered to the Chriſtians) defended themſelves againſt Saladine. For ſhame they would not forgo their ſhirts, though they had parted with their clothes. Stark-naked from ſhelter had the Chriſtians been left, if ſtripped out of Tripoli and Tyre. Manfully therefore they defended themſelves; and Saladine having taſted of their valour in Tripoli, had no mind to mend his draught, but marched away to Tyre.

But Conrade of Montferrat, who was in Tyre with his army, ſo uſed the matter, that Saladine was fain to flie, and leave his tents behind him, which were lined with much treaſure: And the Chriſtians had that happineſſe to ſqueeze that ſponge which formerly was filled with their ſpoil. They in Tyre in token of gratitude choſe this Conrade King of Jeruſalem; ſwearing themſelves his ſubjects who had kept them from being the Turks ſlaves. To ſtrengthen his title, he * married Eliſa or Iſabella (Authours chriſten her with either name) formerly eſpouſed to Humfred of Thoron, ſiſter to Baldwine the fourth, daughter to Almerick King of Jeruſalem.

* *Beſoldus, ex Ritio De reg. pag. 293.*

1188

By this time King Guy was delivered out of priſon, having ſworn never more to bear arms againſt Saladine: which oath by the Clergie was adjudged void, becauſe forced from him when he was detained in priſon unjuſtly againſt promiſe. The worſt was, now he had gained his liberty he could not get his Kingdome. Coming to Tyre, they ſhut the gates againſt him, owning

Anno Dom. ing no King but Conrade. Thus to have two kings together, is the way to have neither king nor kingdome.

Aug. But Guy following the affront as well as he might, and piecing up a cloth of remnants with his broken army, besieged Ptolemais. The Pisanes, Venetians, and Florentines, with their sea-succours came to assist him. But this siege was Church-work, and therefore went on slowly; we may easier perceive it to have moved then to move, especially if we return hither a twelve-moneth hence.

Chap. 2.

The Church-story in the Holy land to the end of the warre; The use and abuse of titular Bishops.

WE must now no longer look for a full face of a Church in the Holy land; it is well if we find one cheek and an eye. Though Jerusalem and Antioch were wonne by the Turks, the Pope ceased not to make Patriarchs of both. We will content our selves with the names of those of Jerusalem, finding little else of them remarkable.

After Heraclius, Thomas Agni was Patriarch, * present in the Laterane Councel under Innocent the third.

Geraldus succeeded him, who * sided with the Pope against Frederick the Emperour.

Albertus, Patriarch in Jerusalem when the Christians lost their land in Syria. He prescribed some rules to the * Carmelites.

After him, Antonie Beak Bishop of Duresme, the most triumphant Prelate of the English militant Church except Cardinall Wolsey. He founded and endowed a Colledge for Prebends at * Chester in the Bishoprick of Duresme: Yet no doubt he had done a deed more acceptable to God, if in stead of sacrifice he had done justice, and not defrauded the Lord Vessie's heir, to whom he was guardian. Let those who are delighted with Sciographie, paint out (if they please) these shadow-Patriarchs, as also those of Antioch, and deduce their succession to this day: For this custome still continueth, and I find the Suffraganes to severall Archbishops and Bishops in Germany and France, style themselves Bishops of Palestine: for example; The Suffraganes of 1 Tornay, 2 Munster, 3 Mentz, 4 Utrecht, 5 Sens, 6 Triers, write themselves Bishops

* *Centur. Cent. 13. cap. 9.*

* *Matth. Paris, in anno 1229.*

* *Centur. ut priùs.*

* *Camden, Brit. pag. 601 Godwine, in Episc. Dunelm. See this catalogue of Patriarchs altered and perfected in the Chronologie.*

Adricomius, in Terra sancta.

Anno Dom.

Bishops of 1 Sarepta, 2 Ptolemais, 3 Sidon, 4 Hebron, 5 Cesarea, 6 Azotus. But well did one in the Councel of Trent give these titular Bishops the title of *figmenta humana*, mans devices; becaus they have as little ground in Gods word and the ancient Canons for their making, as ground in Palestine for their maintenance: Yea, a titular Bishop foundeth a contradiction: for a Bishop and a Church or Diocese, are relatives, as a husband and his wife. Besides, these Bishops by ascending to so high an honour, were fain to descend to many indecencies and indignities to support themselves, with many corruptions in selling of Orders they conferred, the truest and basest Simonie.

History of Trent, lib. 8. pag. 7.

However the Pope still continueth in making of them: First, because it is conceived to conduce to the state and amplitude of the Romane Church to have so many Bishops in it, as it is the credit of the Apothecarie to have his shop full, though many outside-painted pots be emptie within. Secondly, hereby his Holinesse hath a facile and cheap way both to gratifie and engage ambitious spirits, and such Chameleons as love to feed on aire. Yea, the Pope is not onely free of spirituall dignities, but also of temporall titular honours; as when in the dayes of Queen Elisabeth he made Thomas Stukely (a bankrupt in his loyaltie as well as in his estate) Marquesse of Leinster, Earl of Weifford and Caterlogh, Vicount Murrough, Baron Rosse and Hydron in Ireland: The best is, these honours were not heavie nor long worn, he being slain soon after in Barbarie, else the number of them would have broken his back. Lastly, there is a reall use made of these nominall Bishops: for these ciphres joyned with figures will swell a number, and sway a side in a generall Councel, as his Holinesse pleaseth; so that he shall truly *cogere concilium*, both gather and compell it. Of the foure Archbishops which were at the first session in the Councel of Trent two were merely titular, who never had their feet in those Churches whence they took their honour. But enough hereof; Now to matters of the common-wealth.

Camd. Brit. in his descript. of Dublin.

History of Trent, lib. 2. pag. 140.

June 29.

Anno Dom.

Chap. 3.

Frederick Barbaroſſa his ſetting forth to the Holy land; Of the tyrannous Grecian Emperours.

MAtters going thus wofully in Paleſtine, the Chriſtians ſighs there were alarms to ſtirre up their brethren in Europe to go to help them, and chiefly Frederick Barbaroſſa the Germane Emperour. Impute it not to the weakneſſe of his judgement, but the ſtrength of his devotion, that at ſeventy yeares of age, having one foot in his grave, he would ſet the other on Pilgrimage. We muſt know that this Emperour had been long tied to the ſtake, and baited with ſeven freſh ſucceſſive Popes; till at laſt not conquered with the ſtrength, but wearied with the continuance of their malice, he gave himſelf up to be ordered by them; and Pope Clement the third ſent him on this voyage into the Holy land.

June 29. Marching through Hungarie with a great armie of one hundred and fiftie thouſand valiant ſouldiers, he was welcomed by King Bela. But changing his hoſt, his entertainment was changed; being baſely uſed when he entred into the Grecian Empire. *Arnoldus Lubecenſis.*

Of the Emperours whereof we muſt ſpeak ſomewhat. For though being to write the Holy warre I will climbe no hedges, to treſpaſſe on any other ſtory; yet will I take leave to go the high-way, and touch on the ſucceſſion of thoſe Princes which lead to the preſent diſcourſe.

When Conrade Emperour of Germanie laſt paſſed this way, Emmanuel was Emperour in Greece: Who having reigned thirtie eight yeares, left his place to Alexius his ſonne: A youth, the depth of whoſe capacitie onely reached to underſtand pleaſure; governed by the factious nobilitie, till in his third yeare he was ſtrangled by Andronicus his couſin.

Andronicus ſucceeded him; a diligent reader and a great lover of *S. Pauls epiſtles, but a bad practiſer of them: Who rather obſerving the Devils rule, That it is the beſt way for thoſe who have been bad, to be ſtill worſe, fenſing his former villanies by committing new ones, held by tyrannie what he had gotten by uſurpation; till having lived in the bloud of others, he died in his own, tortured to death by the headleſſe multitude; from whom he received all the cruelties which might be expected from ſervile natures when they command. ** Nicetas Choniates, in fine vitæ Andronici.*

Then Iſaacius Angelus, of the Emperiall bloud, was placed

114
* *In the first chapter of this book.*

in his throne; of whom partly * before. Nero-like, he began mildly, but soon fell to the trade of tyrannie: no personall, but the hereditarie sinne of these Emperours. He succeeded also to their suspicions against the Latines, as if they came through his countrey for some sinister ends. This jealous Emperour reigned when Frederick with his armie passed this way; and many bad offices were done bewixt these two Emperours by unfaithfull * Embassadours, as such false *mediums* have often deceived the best eyes. But Frederick finding perfidious dealing in the Greeks, was drawn to draw his sword; taking as he went, * Philippople, Adrianople, and many other cities; not so much to get their spoil, as his own securitie. Isaac understanding hereof, and seeing these Pilgrimes would either find or make their passage, left all terms of enmitie, and fell to a fair complying, accommodating them with all necessaries for their transportation over the Bospo-rus, pretending to hasten them away becaus the Christians exigencies in Palestine admitted of no delay: doing it indeed for fear, the Grecians loving the Latines best when they are furthest from them.

* *Nicetas Choniates, in Isaacio, lib. 2. pag. 436.*
* *Baronius, Annal.*

Anno Dom. 1190
Aug. 25.
Mar. 28.

Chap. 4.

The great victories and wofull death of Frederick the worthy Emperour.

FRederick entring into the territories of the Turkish Sultan of Iconium, found great resistance, but vanquished his enemies in foure severall set battels. Iconium he took by force, giving the spoil thereof to his souldiers, in revenge of the injuries done to his uncle Conrade the Emperour by the Sultan of that place. The citie of Philomela he made to sing a dolefull tune, rasing it to the ground, and executing all the people therein as rebells against the law of nations, for killing his Embassadours: and so came with much difficulty and honour into Syria.

May 19.

Saladine shook for fear, hearing of his coming; and following the advice of * Charatux his counseller (counted one of the wisest men in the world, though his person was most contemptible; so true it is, none can guesse the jewel by the casket) dismantled all his cities in the Holy land save some frontier-places, rasing their walls and forts, that they were not tenable with an army. For he feared if the Dutch wonne these places, they would not easily be driven out: whereas

* *Æmylius, in Phil. Augusto, pag. 178, & 179.*

June 21.

Anno Dom.

whereas now being naked from ſhelter, he would weary them with ſet battels, having men numberleſſe, and thoſe neare at hand; and ſo he would tame the Romane Eagle by watching him, giving him no reſt nor reſpite from continuall fighting. It is therefore no Paradox to ſay, That in ſome caſe the ſtrength of a kingdome doth conſiſt in the weakneſſe of it. And hence it is, that our Engliſh Kings have ſuffered Time, without diſturbing her meals, to feed her belly full on their in-land caſtles and citie-walls; which whileſt they were ſtanding in their ſtrength, were but the nurſeries of rebellion. And now, as * one obſerveth, becauſe we have no ſtrong cities, warre in England waxeth not old (being quickly ſtabbed with ſet battels) which in the Low-countreys hath already outlived the grand climacterickall of threeſcore and ten yeares.

* *Barklay*, Bellum in Anglia non ſeneſcit.

But Frederick the Emperour, being now entring into the Holy land, was to the great grief of all Chriſtians ſuddenly taken away, being drowned in the river of Saleph; a river (ſuch is the envie of Barbariſme obſcuring all places) which cannot accurately be known at this day, becauſe this new name is a ſtranger to all ancient maps. If he went in to waſh himſelf, as ſome write, he neither conſulted with his health nor honour: Some ſay, his horſe foundred under him as he paſſed the water; others, that he fell from him. But theſe ſeverall relations, as varietie of inſtruments, make a dolefull conſort in this, that there he loſt his life: and no wonder, if the cold water quickly quenched thoſe few ſparks of naturall heat left in him at ſeventie yeares of age. * Neubrigenſis conceiveth that this his ſudden death was therefore inflicted on him, becauſe in his youth he fought againſt the Popes and Church of Rome: But I wonder that he ſeeing an Emperour drowned in a ditch, durſt adventure into the bottomleſſe depths of Gods counſels. Let it content us to know that oftentimes heaven blaſteth thoſe hopes which bud firſt and faireſt; and the feet of mightie Monarchs do ſlip, when they want but one ſtep to their enemies throne.

* *Lib. 4. cap. 13.*

June 21.

After his death Frederick Duke of Suevia, his ſecond ſonne, undertook the conduct of the armie. Now the Turks conceiving grief had ſteeped and moiſtened theſe Pilgrimes hearts, gave them a ſudden charge, in hope to have overthrown them. But the valiant Dutch, who though they had ſcarce wiped their eyes had ſcoured their ſwords, quickly forced them to retire. Then Frederick took the citie of Antioch, which was eaſily delivered unto him, and his hungrie ſouldiers well refreſhed by the citizens, being as yet for the moſt part Chriſtians. Marching from hence in ſet battel, he overthrew Dodequin Generall of Saladines forces, ſlew foure thouſand,

116 and took a thousand prisoners with little losse of his own men: and so came to the citie of Tyre, where he buried the corpse of his worthy father in the Cathedrall Church next the tombe of learned Origen; and Gulielmus Tyrius the worthy Archbishop preached his funerall sermon. We may heare his sorrowfull army speaking this his Epitaph unto him; Anno Dom.

Earth scarce did yeeld ground enough for thy sword
To conquer, how then could a brook afford
Water to drown thee? brook, which since doth fear
(O guiltie conscience) in a map t' appear.
Yet blame we not the brook, but rather think
The weight of our own sinnes did make thee sink.
Now sith 'tis so, wee'l fetch a brackish main
Out of our eyes, and drown thee once again.

From hence by sea they were conveyed to the Christian army before Ptolemais, where young Frederick died of the plague: and his great army which at first consisted of an hundred and fiftie thousand at their setting forth out of Germanie, had now no more left then * eighteen hundred armed men.

*Æmylius, in Phil. 2. pag. 175.

Chap. 5.

The continuation of the famous siege of Ptolemais; The Dutch Knights honoured with a grand Master.

WE have now at our leisure overtaken the snail-like siege of Ptolemais, still slowly creeping on. Before it the Christians had not onely a Nationall but an Oecumenicall army; the abridgement of the Christian world: Scarce a state or populous citie in Europe but had here some competent number to represent it.

How many bloudie blows were here lent on both sides, and repayed with interest? what sallies? what assaults? what encounters? whilest the Christians lay betwixt Saladine with his great army behind them and the citie before them. One memorable battel we must not omit. It was agreed betwixt Saladine and the Christians to trie their fortunes in a pitched field: and now the Christians were in fair hope of a conquest, when an * imaginarie causelesse fear put them to a reall flight; so tickliſh are the scales of victory, a very mote will turn them. Thus confusedly they ran away, and boot would have been given to change a strong arm for a swift leg. But behold,

* Fuga imaginario metu orta, *Sabell. Enn. 9. lib. 5. pag. 377.*

Anno Dom.

behold, Geoffrey Luſignan King Guy's brother (left for the guarding of the camp) marching out with his men, confuted the Chriſtians in this their groundleſſe miſtake, and reinforced them to fight; whereby they wonne the day, though with the loſſe of two thouſand men and Gerard Maſter of the Templars. 117

It was vainly hoped, that after this victorie the citie would be ſurrendred: but the Turks ſtill bravely defended it, though moſt of their houſes were burnt and beaten down, and the citie reduced to a bare *ſceleton* of walls and towres. They fought as well with their wits as weapons, and both ſides deviſed ſtrange defenſive and offenſive engines: ſo that Mars himſelf, had he been here preſent, might have learned to fight, and have taken notes from their practice. Mean time famine raged amongſt the Chriſtians; and though ſome proviſion was now and then brought in from Italy (for ſo farre they fetched it) yet theſe ſmall ſhowres after great droughts parched the more, and rather raiſed then abated their hunger.

Once more we will take our farewell of this ſiege for a twelve-moneth: But we muſt not forget that at this time, before the walls of Ptolemais the Teutonick order, or * Dutch Knights (which ſince the dayes of Baldwine the ſecond lived like private pilgrimes) had now their order honoured with Henry of Walpot their firſt grand Maſter, and they were enriched by the bountie of many Germane benefactours. Theſe though ſlow, were ſure; they did *hoc agere*, ply their work; more cordiall to the Chriſtian cauſe then the Templars, who ſometimes to ſave their own ſtakes would play bootie with the Turks. Much good ſervice did the Dutch Knights in the Holy warre; till at laſt (no wiſe Doctour will laviſh phyſick on him in whom he ſeeth *faciem cadaveroſam*, ſo that death hath taken poſſeſſion in the ſick mans countenance) finding this warre to be deſperate and *dedecus fortitudinis*, they even fairly left the Holy land, and came into Europe, meaning to lay out their valour on ſome thing that would quit coſt. But hereof hereafter.

* *Munſter, de Germania, lib. 3. pag. 778.*

118

Anno Dom.

Chap. 6.

Richard of England and Philip of France set forward to the Holy land; The danger of the interveiws of Princes.

THe miseries of the Christians in Syria being reported in Europe, made Richard the first, King of England, and Philip the second surnamed Augustus, King of France, to make up all private dissensions betwixt them, and to unite their forces against the Turks.

Richard was well stored with men, the bones; and quickly got money, the sinews of warre; by a thousand Princely skills gathering so much coin as if he meant not to return, because looking back would unbowe his resolution. To Hugh Bishop of Duresme, for his life, he sold the County of Northumberland; *jesting he had made a new Earl of an old Bishop: He sold Barwick and Roxburgh to the Scottish king for ten thousand pounds: Yea, he protested he would sell his citie of* London (if any were able to buy it) rather then he would be burdensome to his subjects for money. But take this as he spake it, for a flourish: for pretending he had lost his old, he made a new seal, wherewith he squeezed his subjects, and left a deep impression in their purses; forcing them to have all their* instruments new-sealed, which any wayes conterned the Crown.

* *Matthew Paris, Rich. 1. pag. 207.*
* *Martinus, in Richardo 1.*

* *Speed, in Richard the first.*

Having now provided for himself, he forgot not his younger brother John Earl of Morton, who was to stay behind him; an active man, who if he misliked the maintenance was cut for him, would make bold to carve for himself: Lest therefore straitned for means he should swell into discontent, King Richard gave him many Earldomes and honours, to the yearly value of foure thousand marks. Thus he received the golden saddle, but none of the bridle of the Common-wealth: honour & riches were heaped upon him, but no place of trust and command. For the King deputed William Bishop of Ely his Viceroy; choosing him for that place rather then any lay-Earl, because a Coronet perchance may swell into a Crown, but never a Mitre: For a Clergie-mans calling made him uncapable of usurpation in his own person.

Thus having settled matters at home, he set forth with many of our nation; which either ushered or followed him. Of these the prime were, Baldwine Archbishop of Canterbury, Hubert Bishop of Salisburie, Robert Earl of Leicester, Ralph de Glanvile late chief Justice of England, Richard de Clare,

Anno Dom.

Clare, Walter de Kime, &c. The Biſhops of Dureſme and Norwich, though they had vowed this voyage, were diſpenſed with by the court of Rome (* *quæ nulli deeſt pecuniam largienti*) to ſtay at home. His navie he ſent about by Spain, and with a competent number took his own journey through France.

* *Matthew Paris, in Richardo 1°, pag. 207.*

At Tours he took his Pilgrimes ſcrip and ſtaff from the Archbiſhop. His ſtaff at the ſame time * caſually brake in pieces; which ſome (whoſe dexteritie lay in ſiniſter interpreting all accidents) conſtrued a token of ill ſucceſſe. Likewiſe, when he and the French king with their trains paſſed over the bridge of Lyons, * on the fall of the bridge this conceit was built, That there would be a falling out betwixt theſe two Kings; which accordingly came to paſſe, their intercourſe and familiaritie breeding hatred and diſcontent betwixt them.

* *Roger Hoveden, in Richardo 1°, pag. 666.*

* *Idem, ibidem.*

Yea, the interviews of equall Princes have ever been obſerved dangerous. Now Princes meaſure their equalitie not by the extent of their dominions, but by the abſoluteneſſe of their power; ſo that he that is ſupreme and independent in his own countrey, counteth himſelf equall to any other Prince how great ſoever. Perchance ſome youthfull Kings may diſport and ſolace themſelves one in anothers companie, whileſt as yet pleaſure is all the elevation of their ſouls: But when once they grow ſenſible of their own greatneſſe, (a leſſon they will quickly learn, and ſhall never want teachers) then emulation will be betwixt them: becauſe at their meeting they cannot ſo go in equipage, but one will ſtill be the foremoſt: Either his perſon will be more proper, or carriage more court-like, or attendance more accompliſhed, or attire more faſhionable, or ſome thing will either be or conceived to be more majeſticall in one then the other: And corrivalls in honour count themſelves eclipſed by every beam of ſtate which ſhineth from their competitour. Wherefore the beſt way to keep great Princes together, is to keep them aſunder, accommodating their buſineſſe by Embaſſadours, leſt the meeting of their own perſons part their affections.

Chap. 7.

King Richard conquereth Sicilie and Cyprus in his paſſage to the Holy land.

AT Lyons theſe two Kings parted their trains, and went ſeverall wayes into Sicilie. King Richard in his paſſage, though

Anno Dom.

120

though within fifteen miles of Rome, wanting (forsooth) either devotion or manners, vouchsafed not to give his Holinesse a visit: yea, plainly told * Octavian Bishop of Ostia the Popes Confessour, that having better objects to bestow his eyes on, he would not stirre a step to see the Pope: Because lately without mercie he had simoniacally extorted a masse of money from the Prelates of England. At Messana in Sicilie these two Kings meet again: where to complete King Richards joy, behold his Navie there safely arriving, which with much difficultie and danger had fetched a compasse about Spain.

* *Hoveden, in Rich. 1°, pag. 668. & Matth. Paris. in eodem, pag. 213.*

And now King Richard by his own experience grew sensible of the miseries which merchants and mariners at sea underwent, being alwayes within few inches, often within an hairs breadth of death. Wherefore now touched with remorse of their pitifull case, he resolved to revoke the law of Wracks, as a law so just that it was even unjust. For formerly both in England and Normandie, the * Crown was intituled to shipwrackt goods, and the King *jure gentium* made heir unto them; which otherwise *jure naturali* were conceived to be *in bonis nullius*, pertaining to no owner. But now our Richard refused to make advantage of such pitifull accidents, and to strip poore mariners out of those rags of their estates which the mercie and modestie of the waves and winds had left them. And therefore on the moneth of October, at Messana, in the presence of many Archbishops and Bishops, he for ever * quitted the claim to Wracks: So that if any man out of the ship cometh alive to the shore, the propertie of the shipwrackt goods is still preserved to the owner. Yea, this grant was so enlarged by our succeeding Kings, that * if a dogge or a cat escaped alive to land, the goods still remained the owners if he claimed them within a yeare and a day.

* *Bracton, lib. 2. cap. 5.*

* Quietum clamavit *Wreck, &c. Roger Hoveden, in Rich. 1°. pag. 678.*

* *Sr Ed Coke, vol. 6. fol. 107.*

Tankred at this time was King of Sicilie; a bastard born: and no wonder, if climbing up to the throne the wrong way, he shaked when he sat down. Besides, he was a Tyrant; both detaining the dowrie and imprisoning the person of Joan wife to William late King of Sicilie, and sister to King Richard. But in what a case was he now, having two such mightie Monarchs come unto him! To keep them out, was above his power; to let them in, against his will. Well he knew it was wofull to lie in the rode where great armies were to passe: For power knoweth no inferiour friend; and the land-lord commonly loseth his rent, sometimes his land, where the tenant is too potent for him.

At last he resolved (how wisely or honestly, let others judge) openly to poise himself indifferent betwixt these two Kings,

Anno Dom.

Kings, ſecretly applying himſelf to the French: which King Richard quickly diſcovered; as diſſembling goeth not long inviſible before a judicious eye.

Mean time the citizens of Meſſana did the Engliſh much wrong, if not by the command, with the conſent of the King. For though it be unjuſt to father the baſe actions of unrulie people on their Prince; yet Tankred not puniſhing his people for injuring the Engliſh, when he might and was required thereunto, did in effect juſtifie their inſolencies, and adopt their deeds to be his. Wherefore King Richard to avenge himſelf, took Meſſana by aſſault, ſeiſed on moſt forts in the Iſland, demanding ſatisfaction for all wrongs done to him and his ſiſter. Tankred though dull at firſt, now pricked with the ſword, came off roundly with many thouſand ounces of gold; and ſeeing, as the caſe ſtood, his beſt thrift was to be prodigall, gave to our King what rich conditions ſoever he demanded.

Worſe diſcords daily encreaſed betwixt the Kings of France and England; King Richard ſlighting the King of France his ſiſter, whom he had promiſed to marrie, and expreſſing more affection to Beringaria daughter to the King of Navarre. Some Princes interpoſing themſelves in this breach, rather aſſwaged the pain then removed the maladie: So dangerous are ruptures betwixt great ones, whoſe affections perchance by the mediation of friends may be brought again to meet, but never to unite and incorporate. King Philip thinking to foreſtall the market of honour, and take up all for himſelf, haſted preſently to Ptolemais: Richard followed at his leiſure, and took Cyprus in his way. Iſaac (or Curſac) reigned then in Cyprus; who, under Andronicus the Grecian Emperour (when every factious Noble-man ſnatched a plank out of that ſhipwracked Empire) ſeiſed on this Iſland, and there tyrannized as a reputed King. Some falſely conceive him a Pagan: and his faith is ſuſpected, becauſe his charitie was ſo bad; killing the Engliſh that landed there, not having ſo much man as to pitie a woman, and to ſuffer the ſea-ſick Lady Beringaria to come on ſhore. But King Richard ſpeedily overran the Iſland, honoured Iſaac with the magnificent captivitie of ſilver fetters; yet giving his daughter libertie and princely uſage. The Iſland he pawned to the Templars for readie money. And becauſe Cyprus by antiquitie was celebrated as the ſeat of Venus, that ſo it might prove to him, in the joyous moneth of May he ſolemnly took to wife his beloved Lady Beringaria.

Chap. 8.

The taking of the citie Ptolemais.

Anno Dom.

WHileſt King Richard ſtayed in Cyprus, the ſiege of Ptolemais went on: and though the French King thought with a running pull to bear the citie away, yet he found it ſtaked down too faſt for all his ſtrength to ſtirre. 1191

Mean time, the plague and famine raged in the Chriſtians camp; which the laſt yeare ſwept away fiftie Princes and Prelates of note: Who, no doubt, went hence to a happie place; though it was before Pope Clement the ſixth* commanded the angels (who durſt not but obey him) preſently to convey all their ſouls into Paradiſe which ſhould die in their Pilgrimage.

*Chemnitius, ex Weſelo, Exam. Conc. Trid. tract. De Indulg.

This mortalitie notwithſtanding, the ſiege ſtill continued. And now the Chriſtians and Turks, like two fenſers long playing together, were ſo well acquainted with the blows and guards each of other, that what advantage was taken betwixt them was merely caſuall, never for want of skill, care, or valour on either ſide. It helped the Chriſtians not a little, that a concealed Chriſtian within the citie, with letters unſubſcribed with any name, gave them conſtant and faithfull intelligence of the remarkable paſſages amongſt the Turks.

No Prince in this ſiege deſerved more then Leopoldus Duke of Auſtria; who fought ſo long in aſſaulting this citie, till his armour was all over gore bloud, ſave the place covered with his belt. * Whereupon he and his ſucceſſours the Dukes of Auſtria, renouncing the ſix Golden larks, their ancient arms, had aſſigned them by the Emperour a feſſe Argent in a field Gules, as the paternall coat of their family.

* *Pantal. De illuſtribus Germaniæ, part. 2. pag. 201.*

By this time King Richard was arrived (taking as he came a dromond, or Saracen ſhip, wherein were fifteen hundred ſouldiers, and two hundred and fiftie * ſcorpions, which were to be imployed in the poiſoning of Chriſtians) and now the ſiege of Ptolemais more fiercely proſecuted. But all their engines made not ſo wide a breach in that citie walls, as envie made betwixt the French and Engliſh Kings. Yet at laſt the Turks deſpairing of ſuccour, their victuals wholly ſpent, yeelded up the citie by Saladines conſent, on condition to be themſelves ſafely guarded out of it: all Chriſtian priſoners Saladine had were to be ſet free, and the Croſſe to be again reſtored. *June* 8. *July* 13.

* *Matth. Pariſ. in anno* 1191.

The houſes which were left, with the ſpoil and priſoners, were equally divided betwixt Philip and Richard. Whereat many Noble-men, partners in the pains, no ſharers in the gains, departed

Anno Dom.

departed in * diſcontent. Some Turks for fear embraced the Chriſtian faith, but quickly returned to their * vomit: as religion died in fear, never long keepeth colour, but this dayes converts will be to morrows apoſtates. Hereupon it was commanded that none hereafter ſhould be baptized againſt their wills.

123

*Roger Hoveden, in Rich. 1°. pag. 696.

* Fox, Martyrol. pag. 245.

Here the Engliſh caſt down the enſignes of Leopoldus Duke of Auſtria, which he had advanced in a principall towre in Ptolemais; and as ſome ſay, threw them into the jakes. The Duke, though angrie at heart, forgot this injurie till he could remember it with advantage; and afterwards made King Richard pay ſoundly for this affront. It is not good to exaſperate any, though farre inferiour: for, as the fable telleth us, the beetle may annoy the eagle, and the mouſe befriend the lion.

When the citie was taken, it grieved the Chriſtians not a little that their faithfull * correſpondent, who adviſed them by his letters, could no where be found: Pitie it was that Rahabs red lace was not tied at his window. But indeed it was probable that he was dead before the ſurrendring of the citie. Greater was the grief that the Croſſe did no where appear, either careleſſely loſt, or enviouſly concealed by the Turks. Whileſt the Chriſtians ſtormed hereat, Saladine required a longer reſpite for the performance of the conditions. But King Richard would not enlarge him from the ſtrictneſſe of what was concluded; conceiving this was in effect to forfeit the victorie back again. Beſides, he knew he did it onely to gain time to fetch new breath: and if he yeelded to him, his bounty had not been thanked, but his fear upbraided, as if he durſt not denie him. Yea, in anger King Richard commanded all the Turkiſh captives which were in his hands, * ſeven thouſand in number, to be put to death (except ſome choice perſons) on that day whereon the articles ſhould have been but were not performed. For which fact he ſuffered much in his repute, branded with raſhneſſe and crueltie, as the murderer of many Chriſtians: For Saladine in revenge put as many of our captives to death. On the other ſide the moderation of the French King was much commended, who reſerving his priſoners alive, exchanged them to ranſome ſo many Chriſtians.

* *Hoveden, in Rich. 1°. pag. 694.*

* *P. Æmylius, in Philippo Auguſto, pag. 174. But Matthew Paris ſaith but 2600.*

124

Anno Dom.

Chap. 9.

The unseasonable return of the King of France.

MEan time the Christians were rent asunder with faction: Philip the French King, Odo Duke of Burgundie, Leopold Duke of Austria, most of the Dutch, all the Genoans and Templars siding with King Conrade; King Richard, Henry Count of Champaigne, the Hospitallers, Venetians, and Pisans taking part with King Guy. But King Conrades side was much weakened with the sudden departure of the French King; who eighteen dayes after the taking of Ptolemais returned home, pretending want of necessaries, indisposition of body, distemper of the climate, though the greatest distemper was in his own passions. The true cause of his departure was, partly envie, because the sound of King Richards fame was of so deep a note that it drowned his; partly * covetousnesse, to seise on the dominions of the Earl of Flanders lately dead; Flanders lying fitly to make a stable for the fair palace of France. If it be true what * some report, that Saladine bribed him to return, let him for ever forfeit the surname of Augustus, and the style of The most Christian Prince. *July* 31.

His own souldiers disswaded him from returning, beseeching him not to stop in so glorious a race, wherein he was newly started: Saladine was already on his knees, and would probably be brought on his face, if pursued. If he played the unthrift with this golden occasion, let him not hope for another to play the good husband with. If povertie forced his departure, King Richard * profered him the half of all his provisions.

All would not do, Philip persisted in his old plea, How the life of him absent would be more advantageous to the cause, then the death of him present; and by importunitie got leave to depart, solemnly swearing not to molest the King of Englands dominions.

Thus the King of France returned in person, but remained still behind in his instructions, which he left (with his armie) to the Duke of Burgundie; to whom he prescribed both his path and his pace, where and how he should go. And that Duke moved slowly, having no desire to advance the work where King Richard would carrie all the honour. For in those actions wherein severall undertakers are compounded together, commonly the first figure for matter of credit maketh ciphres of all the rest. As for King Philip; being returned home, such was the itch of his ambition, he must be fingering of the King of

* *Matthew Paris, pag. 220.*

* *Speed, out of Hoveden, in Richard the first.*

* *Matth. Paris. in Richardo 1°, pag. 219.*

Anno Dom.

of Englands territories, though his hands were bound by oath to the contrary.

Chap. 10.

Conrade King of Jeruſalem ſlain: Guy exchangeth his Kingdome for the Iſland of Cyprus.

Apr. 27. ABout the time of the King of France his departure, Conrade King of Jeruſalem was murdered in the* market-place of Tyre; and his death is variouſly reported. Some charged our King Richard for procuring it: And though the beams of his innocencie cleared his own heart, yet could they not diſpell the clouds of ſuſpicions from other mens eyes. Some ſay Humphred Prince of Thoron killed him, for taking Iſabella his wife away from him. But the generall voice giveth it out that two Aſſaſines ſtabbed him; whoſe quarrel to him was onely this, That he was a Chriſtian. Theſe murderers being inſtantly put to death, * gloried in the meritoriouſneſſe of their ſuffering: and ſurely were it the puniſhment not the cauſe made martyrdome, we ſhould be beſt ſtored with Confeſſours from gaols, and Martyrs from the gallows.

* *Roger Hoveden, in Richardo 1°, pag. 716. ſaith, on the Calends of May; but Sabellicus putteth it ſooner.*

* *Æmylius, in Phil. Auguſto, pag. 179.*

Conrade reigned five yeares, and left one daughter, Maria Iole, on whom the Knight-Templars beſtowed princely education. And this may ſerve for his Epitaph,

The Crown I never did enjoy alone;
Of half a Kingdome I was half a King.
Scarce was I on, when I was off the throne;
Slain by two ſlaves me baſely murdering.
And thus the beſt mans life at mercie lies
Of vileſt varlets, that their own deſpiſe.

His faction ſurvived after his death, affronting Guy the anti-King, and ſtriving to depoſe him. They pleaded that the Crown was tied on Guy's head with a womans fillet, which being broken by the death of his wife Queen Sibyll (who deceaſed of the plague with her * children at the ſiege of Ptolemais) he had no longer right to the Kingdome; they objected he was a worthleſſe man, and unfortunate. On the other ſide, it was alledged for him, that to meaſure a mans worth by his ſucceſſe, is a ſquare often falſe, alwayes uncertain. Beſides, the courteſie of the world would allow him this favour, That a King ſhould be *ſemel & ſemper*, once and ever.

* *Roger Hoveden, in Richardo 1°, pag. 685.*

126

Whilest Guy stood on these tickliſh terms, King Richard made a seasonable motion, which well relliſhed to the palate of this hungrie Prince, To exchange his Kingdome of Jerusalem for the Island of Cyprus; which he had redeemed from the Templars, to whom he had pawned it: And this was done accordingly to the content of both sides. And King Richard with some of his succeeding Engliſh Kings wore the title of * Jerusalem in their style for many yeares after. We then dismisse King Guy, hearing him thus taking his farewell;

I steer'd a state warre-tost against my will:
Blame then the storm, not th' Pilots want of skill,
That I the Kingdome lost, whose emptie style
I sold to Englands King for Cyprus Isle.
I pass'd away the land I could not hold;
Good ground I bought, but onely aire I sold.
Then as a happy Merchant may I sing,
Though I must sigh as an unhappy King.

Soon after, Guy made a second change of this world for another. But the family of the Lusignans have enjoyed Cyprus some hundred yeares: and since by some transactions it fell to the state of Venice; and lately by conquest, to the Turks.

* *Sabell. Enn. 9. lib. 5. pag. 378.*

Anno Dom. 1192 *Sept.* Calvisius.

Chap. 11.

Henry of Champaigne chosen King. The noble atchievements and victories of King Richard.

CONrade being killed and Guy gone away, Henry Earl of Champaigne was chosen King of Jerusalem by the especiall procuring of King Richard his uncle. To corroborate his election by some right of succession, he married Isabella, the widow of King Conrade and daughter to Almerick King of Jerusalem. A Prince (as writers report) having a sufficient stock of valour in himself, but little happie in expressing it; whether for want of opportunitie, or shortnesse of his reigne, being most spent in a truce. He more pleased himself in the style of Prince of Tyre then King of Jerusalem; as counting it more honour to be Prince of what he had, then King of what he had not.

And now the Christians began every where to build: The Templars fortified Gaza; King Richard repaired and walled Ptolemais, Porphyria, Joppa, and Askelon. But alas! this short prosperity, like an Autumne-spring, came too late and was gone too soon to bring any fruit to maturitie.

It

Anno Dom. 1192

It was now determined they ſhould march towards Jeruſalem: for all this while they had but hit the butt; that Holy citie was the mark they ſhot at. Richard led the vantguard of Engliſh; Duke Odo commanded in the main battel over his French; James of Avergne brought on the Flemings and Brabanters in the rere. Saladine, ſerpent-like biting the heel, aſſaulted the rere, not farre from Bethlehem; when the French and Engliſh wheeling about, charged the Turks moſt furiouſly. Emulation, formerly poyſon, was here a cordiall, each Chriſtian nation ſtriving not onely to conquer their enemies, but to overcome their friends in the honour of the conqueſt. King Richard ſeeking to put his courage out of doubt, brought his judgement into queſtion, being more prodigall of his perſon then beſeemed a Generall. One * wound he received, but by loſing his bloud he found his ſpirits, and laid about him like a mad-man. The Chriſtians got the victory, without the loſſe of any of number or note, ſave James of Avergne, who here died in the bed of honour: But more of the Turks were ſlain then in any battel for fourtie yeares before. 127

* *P. Æmyl. in Phil. Auguſto, pag.* 180

Had the Chriſtians preſently gone to Jeruſalem, probably they might have ſurpriſed it, whileſt the Turks eyes were muffled and blindfolded in the amazement of this great overthrow. But this opportunitie was loſt by the backwardneſſe and unwillingneſſe of King Richard and the Engliſh, ſay the * French writers. To crie quits with them, our * Engliſh authours impute it to the envie of the French; who would have ſo glorious an action rather left undone, then done by the Engliſh. They complain likewiſe of the treacherie of Odo Duke of Burgundie, who more carefull of his credit then his conſcience, was choked with the ſhame of the ſinne he had ſwallowed, and died for grief, when his intelligence with the Turks was made known. This cannot be denied, that Saladine ſent (term them bribes or preſents) both to our King and the French Duke, and they received them: no wonder then if neither of them herein had a good name, when they traded with ſuch familiars. But moſt hold King Richard attempted not Jeruſalem, becauſe as a wiſe architect, he would build his victories ſo as they might ſtand, ſecuring the countrey as he went; it being ſenſeleſſe to beſiege Jeruſalem a ſtraggling citie, whileſt the Turks as yet were in poſſeſſion of all the ſea-ports and ſtrong forts thereabout.

* *P. Æmyl. ibidem.*
* *Matth. Pariſ. in Richardo 1°, pag.* 216.

About this time he intercepted many camels loaden with rich commoditie, thoſe Eaſtern wares containing much in a little. And yet of all this, and of all the treaſures of England, Sicilie, and Cyprus which he brought hither, King Richard carried home nothing but one * gold-ring: all the reſt of his wealth

* *P. Æmyl. pag.* 181. Excepto hoc annulo nudus inópſque.

wealth melted away in this hot service. He wintered in Askelon, intending next spring to have at Jerusalem.

Anno Dom. 1192

Chap. 12.

The little-honourable peace King Richard made with Saladine; Of the value of Reliques.

BUt bad news out of Europe shaked his steadiest resolutions, hearing how William Bishop of Ely, his Vice-roy in England, used unsufferable insolencies over his subjects: So hard it is for one of base parentage to personate a King without overacting his part. Also he heard how the King of France and John Earl of Morton his own brother, invaded his dominions; ambition, the Pope in their belly, dispensing with their oath to the contrary. Besides, he saw this warre was not a subject capable of valour to any purpose; the Venetians, Genoans, Pisans and Florentines being gone away with their fleets, wisely shrinking themselves out of the collar, when they found their necks wrung with the hard imployment. Hereupon he was forced first to make the motion of (in plain terms, to begge) peace of Saladine.

Let Saladine now alone to winne, having all the game in his own hand. Well knew he how to shoot at his own ends, and to take aim by the exigencies wherein he knew King Richard was plunged. For he had those cunning gypsies about him, who could read in King Richards face what grieved his heart; and by his intelligencers was certified of every note-worthy passage in the English armie. Upon these terms therefore or none (beggers of peace shall never be choosers of their conditions) a truce for three (some say, five) yeares might be concluded, That the Christians should demolish all places they had walled since the taking of Ptolemais; which was in effect to undo what with much charge they had done. But such was the tyrannie of King Richards occasions, forcing him to return, that he was glad to embrace those conditions he hated at his heart.

Thus the voyage of these two Kings, begun with as great confidence of the undertakers as expectation of the beholders, continued with as much courage as interchangeablenesse of successe, baned with mutuall discord & emulation, was ended with some honour to the undertakers, no * profit either to them or the Christian cause. Some farre-fetched deare-bought honour they got; especially King Richard, who eternized his memory in Asia: whom if men forget, horses will remember; the Turks using

* P. Æmyl. pag. 181. Tanto duorum regum conatu nihil actum.

Anno Dom. 1192

using to say to their horses when they started for fear, Dost thou think King Richard is here? Profit they got none, losing both of them the hair of their heads in an acute disease; which was more, saith * one, then both of them got by the voyage.

* *Daniel, pag.* 100.

They left the Christians in Syria in worse case then they found them: as he doeth the benighted traveller a discourtesie rather then a kindnesse, who lendeth him a lantern to take it away, leaving him more masked then he was before.

And now a little to solace my self and the reader with a merry digression, after much sorrow and sad stories; King Richard did one thing in Palestine which was worth all the cost and pains of his journey, namely, He redeemed from the Turks a chest full of holy Reliques (which they had gotten at the taking of Jerusalem) so great, as * foure men could scarce carry any way. And though some know no more then Esops cock how to prize these pearls, let them learn the true value of them from the Romane jewellers. First, they must carefully distinguish between publick and private Reliques: In private ones some forgery may be suspected, lest *quid* be put for *quo*; which made S. * Augustine put in that wary parenthesis, *Si tamen Martyrum*, If so be they be the Reliques of Martyrs. But as for publick ones approved by the Pope, and kept in Churches (such no doubt as these of King Richards were) oh let no Christian be such an infidel as to stagger at the truth thereof! If any object, That the head of the same Saint is shewed at severall places; the whole answer is by a * Synecdoche, That a part is put for the whole. As for the common exception against the Crosse, That so many severall pieces thereof are shown, which put together would break the back of Simon of Cyrene to bear them; it is answered, *Distrahitur, non diminuitur*, and like the loaves in the Gospel, it is miraculously multiplied in the dividing. If all these fail, *Baronius hath a rasour shaveth all scruple clear away: For, saith he, *Quicquid sit, fides purgat facinus*; So that he worshippeth the false Reliques of a true Saint, God taketh his good intention in good worth, though he adore the hand of Esau for the hand of Jacob. But enough of these fooleries.

* *Matth. Paris. in Rich.* 1. *pag.* 222.

* *In lib. De oper. Mon. cap.* 28.

* *Bellarm. De Reliq. cap.* 4.

* *Annal. Eccl. in anno* 226.

Chap. 13.

King Richard taken prisoner in Austria; sold and sent to the Emperour; dearly ransomed, returneth home.

Anno Dom. 1192

KIng Richard setting sail from Syria, the sea and wind favoured him till he came into the Adriatick; and on the coasts of Istria he suffered shipwrack: Wherefore he intended to pierce through Germanie by land, the next way home. But the nearnesse of the way is to be measured not by the shortnesse but the safenesse of it. *Octo.* 8.

He disguised himself to be one Hugo a merchant, whose onely commodity was himself, whereof he made but a bad bargain. For he was discovered in an inne in Austria, because he disguised his person not his expenses; so that the very policie of an hostesse, finding his purse so farre above his clothes, did detect him: Yea, saith mine Authour, *Facies orbi terrarum nota, ignorari non potuit.* The rude people flocking together, used him with insolencies unworthy him, worthy themselves: and they who would shake at the tail of this loose Lion, durst laugh at his face now they saw him in a grate. Yet all the weight of their cruelty did not bow him beneath a Princely carriage. *Dec.* 20.

Leopoldus Duke of Austria hearing hereof, as being Lord of the soil, seised on this Royall stray; meaning now to get his peny-worths out of him, for the affront done unto him in Palestine. *Dec.* 20.

Not long after the Duke sold him to Henry the Emperour, for his harsh nature surnamed *Asper*; and it might have been *Sævus*, being but one degree from a tyrant. He kept King Richard in bands, charging him with a thousand faults committed by him in Sicilie, Cyprus, and Palestine. The proofs were as slender as the crimes grosse; and Richard having an eloquent tongue, innocent heart, and bold spirit, acquitted himself in the judgement of all the hearers. At last he was * ransomed for an hundred and fourty thousand marks, Collen weight. A summe so vast in that age, before the Indies had overflowed all Europe with their gold and silver, that to raise it in England they were forced to sell their Church-plate to their very chalices. Whereupon out of most deep Divinity it was concluded, That they should not celebrate the Sacrament in * glasse, for the brittlenesse of it; nor in wood, for the sponginesse of it, which would suck up the bloud; nor in alchymie, because it was subject to rusting; nor in copper, because that would provoke vomiting;

* *Matth. Pariſ. in Rich. 1.*

* *Lindwood, lib. 1. De ſumma Tri. fol. 6.*

Anno Dom. 1192

miting; but in chalices of latten, which belike was a metall without exception. And such were used in England for some * hundred yeares after: untill at last John Stafford Archbishop of Canterbury, when the land was more replenished with silver, inknotteth that Priest in the greater excommunication that should consecrate *Poculum stanneum.* After this money * Peter of Bloys (who had drunk as deep of Helicon as any of that age) sendeth this good prayer; making an apostrophe to the Emperour, or to the Duke of Austria, or to both together:

* *Eulogium*; a Chronicle cited by Fox, Martyrol. in Rich. 1.

* *Epist.* 57.

Bibe nunc, avaritia,
Dum puteos argenteos
Larga diffundit Anglia.
Tua tecum pecunia
Sit in perditionem.

And now, thou base avarice,
Drink till thy belly burst,
Whil'st England poures large silver showres
To satiate thy thirst.
And this we pray, Thy money may
And thou be like accurst.

The ransome partly payed, the rest secured by hostages, King Richard much befriended by the Dutch Prelacie, after eighteen moneths imprisonment returned into England. The Archbishop of Cullen in the presence of King Richard, as he passed by, brought in these words in saying masse, *Now I know that God hath sent his angel, and hath delivered thee out of the hand of Herod, and from the expectation of the people,* &c. But his soul was more healthfull for this bitter physick, and he amended his manners; better loving his * Queen Beringaria, whom he slighted before: As souldiers too often love women better then wives.

* *Speed, in Rich.* 1.

Leave we him now in England, where his presence fixed the loyaltie of many of his unsettled subjects; whilest in Austria the Duke with his money built the walls of Vienna: So that the best stones and morter of that bulwark of Christendome are beholden to the English coin. We must not forget how Gods judgements overtook this Duke, punishing his dominions with fire and water, which two elements cannot be Kings but they must be tyrants; by famine, the eares of wheat turned into worms; by a gangrene, seising on the Dukes body, who cut off his leg with his own hand, and died thereof: Who by his testament (if not by his will) caused some thousand crowns to be restored again to King Richard.

132

Anno Dom.

Chap. 14.

The death of Saladine; His commendation, even with truth, but almost above belief.

SOon after, Saladine the terrour of the East ended his life, having reigned sixteen yeares. Consider him as a man, or a Prince, he was both wayes admirable. 1193 *Febr.* 16.

Many Historians (like some painters, which rather shew their skill in drawing a curious face then in making it like to him whom it should resemble) describe Princes rather what they should be then what they were; not shewing so much their goodnesse as their own wits. But finding this Saladine so generally commended of all writers, we have no cause to distrust this his true character.

His wisdome was great, in that he was able to advise; and greater, in that he was willing to be advised: Never so wedded to his own resolves, but on good ground he would be divorced from them. His valour was not over-free, but would well answer the spurre when need required. In his victories he was much beholden to the advantage of season, place, and number; and seldome wrested the garland of honour from an arm as strong as his own. He ever marched in person into the field, remembring that his predecessours, the Caliphs of Egypt, brake themselves by using Factours, and imploying of Souldans. His temperance was great, diet sparing, sleep moderate, not to pamper nature, but keep it in repair. His greatest recreation was variety and exchange of work. Pleasures he rather sipped then drank off, sometimes, more to content others then please himself. Wives he might have kept sans number, but stinted himself to one or two; using them rather for posterity then wantonnesse. His justice to his own people was remarkable; his promise with his enemies generally well kept. Much he did triumph in mercy: Fierce in fighting, mild in conquering; and having his enemies in his hand, pleased himself more in the power then act of revenge. His liberality would have drained his treasure, had it not had a great and quick spring, those Eastern parts being very rich. Serviceable men he would purchase on any rate; and sometimes his gifts bare better proportion to his own greatnesse then the receivers deserts. Vast bribes he would give to have places betrayed unto him, and often effected that with his gold which he could not do with his steel. Zealous he was in his own religion, yet not violent against Christians *quà* Christians. Scholarship cannot be expected

Anno Dom. 1193

pected in him who was a Turk by his birth (amongst whom it is a sinne to be learned) and a souldier by breeding. His humility was admirable; as being neither ignorant of his greatnesse, nor over-knowing it. He provided to have no solemnities at his funerals; and ordered that before his corpse a black cloth should be carried on the top of a spear, and this proclaimed, * *Saladine Conquerour of the East had nothing left him but this black shirt to attend him to the grave.*

Some entitle him as descended from the Royall Turkish bloud: Which flattering Heralds he will little thank for their pains; counting it most honour, that he being of mean parentage, was the first founder of his own Nobility. His stature (for one of that nation) was tall. His person rather cut out to strike fear then winne love; yet could he put on amiableness when occasion required, and make it beseem him. To conclude; I will not be so bold, to do with him as an Eastern * Bishop doth with Plato and Plutarch, whom he commendeth in a Greek hymn to Christ, as those that came neerest to holinesse of all untaught Gentiles: (Belike he would be our Saviours remembrancer, and put him in mind to take more especiall notice of them at the day of judgement.) But I will take my farewell of Saladine with that commendation I find of him, * He wanted nothing to his eternall happinesse, but the knowledge of Christ.

133

* *Sabell. Enn. 9. lib. 5. pag. 378.*

* *Joan. Euchaitensis, jampridem Etoniæ Græcè editus.*

* *Sabell. Enn. 9. lib. 5. pag. 378.*

Chap. 15.

Discords amongst the Turks; The miserable death of Henry King of Jerusalem.

1194 SAladine left nine (some say, twelve) sonnes, making Saphradine his brother overseer of his will: Who of a tutour turned a traitour, and murdered them all excepting one, called also Saphradine, Sultan of Aleppo; who, not by his uncles pity, but by the favour and support of his fathers good friends was preserved. Hence arose much intestine discord amongst the Turks; all which time the Christians enjoyed their truce with much quiet and security.

1196 Not long after, Henry King of Jerusalem, as he was * walking in his palace to solace himself, fell down out of a window, and brake his neck. He reigned three yeares. But as for the particular time he died on, I find it not specified in any Authour.

* *Continuator Urspi. in anno* 1196. Et *M. Paris. in eodem.*

Chap. 16.

Almerick the second, King of Jeruſalem; The great armie of the Dutch adventurers doeth little in Syria.

Anno Dom. 1196

AFter his death, Almerick Luſignan, brother to King Guy, was in the right of his wife crowned King of Jeruſalem: For he married Iſabella the Relict of Henry the laſt King. This Lady was foure times married: firſt, to Humphred Prince of Thorone; then to the three ſucceſſive Kings of Jeruſalem, Conrade, Henry, and this Almerick. He was alſo King of Cyprus; and the Chriſtians in Syria promiſed themſelves much aid from the vicinity of that Iſland. But though he was neare to them, he was farre from helping them, making pleaſure all his work; being an idle, lazy, worthleſſe Prince. But I treſpaſſe on that politick rule, Of Princes we muſt ſpeak the beſt, or the leaſt; if that be not intended, when the truth is ſo late that danger is entailed upon it.

In his time, Henry Emperour of Germany, indicted by his conſcience for his cruelty againſt King Richard, ſeeking to perfume his name in the noſtrils of the world, which began to be unſavourie, ſet on foot another voyage to the Holy land. Pope Celeſtine the third ſent his Legates about to promote this ſervice, ſhewing how God himſelf had ſounded the alarm by the diſſenſion of the Turks: Jeruſalem now might be wonne with the blows of her enemies; onely an army muſt be ſent, not ſo much to conquer as to receive it. Generall of the Pilgrimes was Henry Duke of Saxony; next him, Frederick Duke of Auſtria, Herman Landtgrave of Thuringia, Henry Palatine of Rhene, Conrade Archbiſhop of Mentz, Conrade Archbiſhop of Wirtzburg, the Biſhops of Breme, Halberſtadt, & Regenſpurg, with many more Prelates; ſo that here was an Epiſcopall army, which might have ſerved for a nationall Synod: Inſomuch that one truly might here have ſeen the Church Militant. We have no ambition, ſaith * one of their countrey-men, to reckon them up; for they were *plurimi & nulli*, many in number, none in their actions. 1197

Some of theſe ſouldiers were imployed by Henry the Emperour (who knew well to bake his cake with the Churches feuel) to ſubdue his rebells in Apulia. This done, they paſſed through Grecia, and found there better entertainment then ſome of their predeceſſours. Hence by ſhipping they were conveyed into Syria: Here they brake the * truce made by King Richard,

1198

1199

**Urſp. Chron. in anno 1197. pag. 304.*

** urſp. ut priùs.*

Anno Dom. 1197 Richard, (it ſeemeth by this, it was the laſt five yeares) the Pope diſpenſing therewith; who can make a peace, nets to hold others, but a cobweb for himſelf to break through. The citie Berytus they quickly wanne, and as quickly loſt. For Henry the Emperour ſuddenly died, the root which nouriſhed this voyage, and then the branches withered. Henry alſo Duke of Saxony, Generall of this army, was ſlain. And Conrade Archbiſhop of Mentz, one of the Electours, would needs return home to the choice of a new Emperour; knowing he could more profitably uſe his voice in Germany then his arms in Syria. Other Captains ſecretly ſtole home; and when their ſouldiers would have fought, their * Captains ran away. And whereas in other Expeditions we find *veſtigia pauca retrorſum*, making ſuch clean work that they left little or no reverſions; of this voyage many ſafely returned home with whole bodies and wounded credits.

* *Baron. Annal. Eccl. in anno* 1197.

The reſt that remained fortified themſelves in Joppa. And now the feaſt of S. Martin was come, the Dutch their Arch-Saint. This man being a Germane by birth, and Biſhop of Tours in France, was eminent for his * hoſpitality; and the Dutch badly imitating their countrey-man, turn his charity to the poore into riot on themſelves, keeping the eleventh of November (I will not ſay holy-day, but) feaſt-day. At this time the ſpring-tide of their mirth ſo drowned their ſouls, that the * Turks coming in upon them, cut every one of their throats, to the number of twenty thouſand: and quickly they were ſtabbed with the ſword that were cup-ſhot before. A day which the Dutch may well write in their Kalendars in red letters died with their own bloud; when their camp was their ſhambles, the Turks their butchers, and themſelves the Martinmaſſe-beeves: from which the beaſtly drunkards differ but a little.

* *Pantal. De vir. illuſtr. Germ. in vita S. Martini.*

* *Knolls, Turk. Hiſt. pag.* 74.

The citie of Joppa the Turks raſed to the ground; and of this victory they became ſo proud, that they had thought without ſtop to have driven the Chriſtians quite out of Syria. But
1198 by the coming of * Simon Count of Montford (a moſt valiant and expert Captain, ſent thither by Philip the French King with a regiment of tall ſouldiers, at the inſtance of Innocent the third, that ſucceeded Celeſtine in the Papacy) and by civil diſcord then reigning amongſt the Turks themſelves for ſovereignty, their fury was repreſſed, and a peace betwixt them and the Chriſtians concluded for the ſpace of * ten yeares: During which time the Turks promiſed not to moleſt the Chriſtians in Tyre or Ptolemais. Which peace ſo concluded, the worthy
1199 Count returned with his ſouldiers into France.

* *Magdeburgenſes, Cent.* 12. *cap.* 16. *ſub finem.*

* *Knolls, ut priùs.*

Chap.

136

Anno Dom. 1202

Chap. 17.

A Crusado for the Holy land diverted by the Pope to Constantinople; They conquer the Grecian Empire.

THis truce notwithstanding, another armie of Pilgrimes was presently provided for Syria: The Tetrarchs whereof were Baldwine Earl of Flanders, Dandalo the Venetian Duke, Theobald Earl of Champaigne, Boniface Marquesse of Montferrat, with many other Nobles.

Leave we them a while taking the citie of Jadera in Istria for the Venetians. Mean time if we look over into Greece, we shall find Isaac Angelus the Emperour deposed, thrust into prison, his eyes put out (the punishment there in fashion) so that he ended his dayes before he ended his life, by the cruelty of Alexius Angelus his brother, who succeeded him.

But young Alexius, Isaac Angelus his sonne, with some Grecian Noble-men, came to the courts of most Western Princes to beg assistance to free his father and expell the tyrant. He so deported himself, that each gesture was a net to catch mens good will; not seeking their favour by losing himself, but though he did bow, he would not kneel: so that in his face one might reade a pretty combat betwixt the beams of majesty and cloud of adversity. To see a Prince in want, would move a misers charity. Our Western Princes tendered his case, which they counted might be their own; their best right lying at the mercy of any stronger usurper. Young Alexius so dressed his meat, that he pleased every mans palate; promising for their succours to disingage the French from their debts to the Venetian; promising the Venetian satisfaction for the wrongs done them by the Grecians; and bearing the Pope in hand he would reduce the Eastern Churches into his subjection: things which he was little * able to perform. But well may the statute of Bankrupt be sued out against him who cannot be rich in promises. These his fair proffers prevailed so farre, that the Pope commanded, and other Princes consented, that this army of Pilgrimes levied for the Holy land, should be imployed against the usurping Grecian Emperour. Many taxed his Holinesse for an unjust steward of the Christian forces, to expend them against the Grecians, which were to be laid out against the Infidels: Especially now when Palestine, through the dissension of the Turks, offered it self into the Christians arms to be regained. Others thought the Pope took the right method; because he

* *Nicetas.*

1203 July 17.

1204 Apr. 21.

Anno Dom. 1202

he which ſhould winne Jeruſalem muſt begin at Conſtantinople: And by this warre the Grecian Empire, which was the bridge to Syria, would be made good, and ſecured for the paſſage of Pilgrimes. The ſouldiers generally rejoyced at the exchange of their ſervice: for the barren warres in Syria ſtarved the undertakers; and a cook himſelf cannot lick his fingers where no meat is dreſſed. There nothing but naked honour was to be gotten, here honour clothed with ſpoil; the uſurpers treaſure would make brave ſcrambling amongſt them: And it was good plowing up of that ground which had long lien fallow.

Setting ſail from Jadera (which citie they had ſubdued to the Venetian, forcing them to pay three thouſand * cony-skins yearly for tribute to that State) like good fenſers they ſtrook at the head, and made for Conſtantinople: Which they quickly took, after ſome hot skirmiſhes. Alexius Angelus the uſurper, with his wife, whores, and treaſure, fled away. Blind Iſaac Angelus was fetched out of priſon; he and young Alexius his ſonne ſaluted joynt Emperours. Which brittle honour of theirs was quickly broken: For ſoon after the father died, being brought into an open place, kept before in a cloſe pent dungeon; and having long faſted from good aire, he now got his death by ſurfeting on it. His ſonne was villainouſly ſtrangled by Alexius Ducas, called from his beetle-brow Murſiphlus: One of baſe parentage, who was tumultuouſly choſen Emperour by the people. This Ducas offered ſome affronts to the Latines which lay before Conſtantinople in their ſhips. Wherefore, and alſo becauſe they were not payed for their former ſervice, they the ſecond time aſſaulted the citie, and took it by main force; killing none, but robbing all; raviſhing women, and uſing a thouſand inſolencies. Some fled for their ſuccour to the ſhrines of Saints: But the Sanctuaries needed ſanctuaries to protect themſelves; the ſouldiers as little reſpecting place, as formerly age or ſex: not ſtanding on any reverence to the Saints, they ſtood upon them, making footſtools of their images and ſtatues.

1203 *July* 17.

1204 *Apr.* 21.

Nicetas Choniates, hitherto an hiſtorian, now a plaintiff, (writing ſo full of ohs and exclamations as if the while pinched by the arm) rather without meaſure then cauſe bemoneth the outrages the Latines here committed. Poore man! all the miſeries our Saviour ſpeaketh of in a ſiege, met in him: His flight from Conſtantinople was in the winter, on the * Sabbath-day, his wife being great with child. But when the object is too neare the eye, it ſeemeth greater then it is: and perchance he amplifieth and aggravateth the cruelty of theſe Pilgrimes, being nearly intereſſed therein himſelf; eſpecially when the rhetorick

* *Blondus, lib. 6. Decad. 2. pag. 270.*

* *In libello cui titulus,* Status Conſtantinopolis, §. 1. *pag.* 637.

138

* Servorum hic dies est, *Lipſ. lib. 1. Satur. cap. 2.*

rick of grief is alwayes in the *Hyperbole*. Nor is it any news for ſouldiers to be ſo inſolent when they take a citie by aſſault: which time is their * *Saturnalia*, when ſervants themſelves do command, acknowledging no other leader or captain then their own paſſions. *Anno Dom.* 1204

Within a twelve-moneth all Greece was ſubdued ſave onely Adrianople: Baldwine Earl of Flanders choſen Emperour; Thomas Maurocenus elected firſt Latine Patriarch in Conſtantinople; Boniface Marqueſſe of Montferrat made King of Theſſalie; Geoffrey of Troy, a Frenchman, Prince of Achaia and Duke of Athens: the Venetians got many rich Iſlands in the Egean and Ionian ſeas: So that one could not now ſee the Grecian Empire for Empires. It was now expected that they ſhould have advanced hence into Paleſtine: But here having well feathered their neſts, they were loth to flie any further. And now no wonder if the Chriſtians affairs in Paleſtine were weak and lean, the Pope diverting the meat that ſhould feed them another way. *Apr.* 24. crowned *May* 16.

Chap. 18.

The Pope ſendeth an armie of Croiſes againſt the Albingenſes. Three ſeverall opinions concerning that ſect.

POpe Innocent the third having lately learned the trick of imploying the armie of Pilgrimes in by-ſervices, began now to ſet up a trade thereof. For two yeares after he levied a great number of them, whom he ſent againſt the Albingenſes in France. Theſe were reputed hereticks, whom his Holineſſe intended to root out with all crueltie; that good ſhepherd knowing no other way to bring home a wandring ſheep then by worrying him to death. He fully and freely promiſed the undertakers the ſelf-ſame Pardons and Indulgences as he did to thoſe who went to conquer the Holy land; and very conſcionably requeſted their aid onely for fourty dayes, hoping to chop up theſe Albingenſes at a bit. Though herein he was deceived, and they ſtuck in his and his ſucceſſours teeth for fifty yeares together. The place being nearer, the ſervice ſhorter, the work leſſe, the wages the ſame with the voyage into Syria, many entred themſelves in this imployment, and neglected the other. 1206

We will trace this armie by their footſteps, and our penne

muſt

Anno Dom. 1206

must wait on their ſwords. And I hope that his Holineſſe, who abſolved many of their vows from Paleſtine, and commuted them into a journey into France, will alſo of his goodneſſe diſpenſe with my veniall digreſſion herein, in proſecuting their actions. Yea, indeed, I need not his diſpenſation, being ſtill reſident on my own ſubject, this alſo being ſtyled, The Holy warre, The warre for the Crucifix, The army of the Church; the ſouldiers alſo bearing the badge of the Croſſe on their coat-armour.

But firſt let us throughly examine what theſe Albingenſes were, and what they held: a queſtion that will quit the coſt in ſtudying it.

They were a younger houſe of the Waldenſes, and branched from them; not different in doctrine, but later in time, and diſtant in place: ſo called from the countrey Albigeois in France, where they lived.

I find three grand different opinions of Authours concerning them:

Firſt, Some make them to have been very monſters in life and doctrine; ſo that the heavieſt puniſhment was too light for them. And this is the generall voyce of moſt writers in that age, and all Romaniſts in our dayes.

Secondly, Others clean contrary hold, That theſe Waldenſes (for I make them and the Albingenſes *ſynonyma*, as * others have done) were onely the true Church of God in that age, whileſt all others being corrupted with abominable ſuperſtition, were no true Church at all. Theſe alone were Gods Virgins, his Witneſſes in ſackcloth, his Woman in the wilderneſſe, his ſealed ones, his ſeven thouſand whoſe knees were not ſuppled with the Baaliſme of that age. This is the expreſſe opinion of ſome ſtrict Proteſtants; and of ſome who ſpeak it not out, yet mutter it to themſelves.

Thirdly, A third ſort * explode this opinion, as treſpaſſing on Divine providence; that God who neither ſlumbereth nor ſleepeth, ſhould be in ſo long a lethargie as to ſuffer hell to eat up his heaven on earth for ſo many yeares together, leaving no true Church but ſo ſmall a company of ſuch ſimple people. They conceive that the maintainers hereof engage themſelves in a labyrinth of difficulties, hanging too great a weight on ſo ſlender a ſtring, in making ſuch an handfull of men the onely Church for ſo long continuance. More moderately therefore they hold, That theſe Albingenſes were a purer part of the Church; and though guilty of ſome errours (as there muſt be a dawning before the day) and charged with more, yet they maintained the ſame * doctrine in ore, which ſince Luthers time was refined: So that the main body of the Church viſible at

* *Jo. Paul. Perin. De Albing. lib. 1. cap. 1.*

* *Dr Field, Of the Church, lib. 3. cap. 8.* We acknowledge them (*viz.* Wickliff, Huſſe, Hierome of Prague, *&c.*) to have been the worthy ſervants of God, and holy Martyrs & Confeſſours, ſuffering in the cauſe of Chriſt againſt Antichriſt; yet do we not think that the Church of God was found onely in them.

* *Dr White, in his Replie to Fiſher, pag.* 104, 105. The Waldenſes maintained the ſame doctrine in ſubſtance with the modern Proteſtants.

140 this time was much in dilapidations, whileſt the Albingenſes, as an innermoſt chapell thereof, was beſt in repair. *Anno Dom.*

Let the Reader chooſe the probableſt opinion when he hath peruſed the evidences of all ſides; which we will now produce, deducing the hiſtorie of theſe Albingenſes from their firſt originall.

Chap. 19.

The beginning of the Albingenſes; Their diſperſion, perſecution, increaſe, names, and nicknames.

ABout the yeare 1160, Peter Waldo a merchant of Lyons, rich in ſubſtance and learning (for a lay-man) was walking and talking with his friends, when one of them ſuddenly fell down dead. Which lively ſpectacle of mans mortality ſo impreſſed the ſoul of this Waldo, that inſtantly he reſolved on a ſtrict reformation of his life: Which to his power he performed; tranſlating ſome books of the Bible; inſtructing ſuch as reſorted to him in godlineſſe of life; teaching withall, That Purgatorie, Maſſes, dedication of Temples, worſhipping of Saints, prayers for the dead, were inventions of the devil, and ſnares of avarice; That Monkery was a ſtinking carrion, the Church of Rome the whore of Babylon, the Pope that Antichriſt Paramount: He ſharply lanced the vitious ulcers of Clergie-mens lives, reproving their pride and luxury. Soon got he many followers, both becauſe novelty is a forcible loadſtone, and becauſe he plentifully relieved his poore diſciples; and thoſe that uſe that trade ſhall never want cuſtome.

The Archbiſhop of Lyons hearing ſuch doctrines broched as were high treaſon againſt the Triple crown, ferreted Waldo and his ſectaries out of Lyons and the countrey thereabouts. But perſecution is the bellows of their Goſpel, to blow every ſpark into a flame. This their diviſion proved their multiplication. Some fled into the Alpes, living there on ſo ſteep hills, and in ſo deep holes, that their enemies were afraid to climbe or dive after them. Here they had the conſtant company of the ſnow: And as it by the height of the hills was protected from the ſun-beams, ſo they from the ſcorching of perſecution, even to Luthers time. Others fled into Picardy, Flanders, England, Alſatia, Bohemia, * Bulgaria, Croatia, Hungaria, and whither not? the perfume of the Popes preſence not keeping this ſuppoſed

* *Matth. Pariſ. in Hen. 3. in anno 1213*

Anno Dom.

posed vermine out of Italy it self. Many of them were cruelly massacred, five and thirty Burgesses of Mayence burned at Bingen in one fire, eighteen at Mayence, foureſcore at Straſsburg at the inſtance of the Biſhop thereof. But Martyrs aſhes are the beſt compoſt to manure the Church: for others were wonne to their opinion, by beholding their conſtancie and patience. Strange that any ſhould fall in love with that profeſſion, whoſe profeſſours were ſo miſerable! But truth hath alwayes a good face, though often but bad clothes.

They were called by ſundry names; Sometimes from the places where they lived: As from Albigeois, Tholoſe, Lyons, Picardy, Bohemia; Albingenſes, Tholouſians, Lyoniſts, Picards, Bohemians. Sometimes from their principall paſtour: As from Waldo, Joſeph, Henry, Eſperon, Arnold; Waldenſes, Joſephiſts, Henricians, Eſperonites, Arnoldiſts. In England they were termed Lolards, from * Lolard their teacher; not as ſome Friar deſcanteth, *quaſi Lolium in areâ Domini.* It appeareth not whether they were thus called of others, or called themſelves. But grant the latter: and if any object, That they ſeemed aſhamed of Chriſt their firſt godfather, who gave them the name of Chriſtians, thus to denominate themſelves from their teachers; I anſwer, It is the ſame the Papiſts do, calling themſelves Benedictines, Dominicanes, Franciſcanes, &c. from the founders of their Order.

* *Jo. Paul. Perin. Hiſt. Waldenſ. lib. 1. cap. 3.*

They had alſo nick-names; called, Firſt, Poore men of Lyons; not becauſe they choſe to be poore, but could not chooſe but be poore, being ſtripped out of all their goods: And why ſhould the Friars glory be this peoples ſhame; they mocking at poverty in others, which they count meritorious in themſelves. Secondly, Patarenians; that is, Sufferers, whoſe backs were anvils for others to beat on. Thirdly, Turlupins; that is, Dwellers with wolves, (and yet might they be Gods ſheep) being forced to flee into woods. Fourthly, likewiſe they were called Sicars; that is, Cut-purſes. Fifthly, *Fraterculi*; that is, Shifters. Sixthly, *Inſabbathæ*; that is, Obſervers of no ſabbath. Seventhly, Paſagenes; that is, Wanderers. As alſo Arians, Manicheans, Adamites (how juſtly will appear afterwards.) Yea, ſcarce was there an arrow in all the quiver of malice which was not ſhot at them.

142

Anno Dom. 1206

Chap. 20.

The Albingenses their answer, confessing some, denying most crimes laid to their charge; Commendations their adversaries give them.

COme we now to the full and foul indictment wherewith these Albingenses are charged: That they gave no reverence to * holy places; rejected the baptisme of infants; held that temporall power was grounded in grace; that it was a meritorious work to persecute the Priests of Rome and their subjects: With the Adamites they went naked (an affront to nature;) with the Manicheans they made two first causes, God of good, the devil of evil; held community of all things, even of wives amongst them; were * sorcerers and conjurers (pretending to command the devil, when they most obeyed him) guilty of incest, buggery, and more unnaturall sinnes, whereby men (as it were) runne backward to hell.

* *Reinerius, fol.22.art 32.*

* *Claudius Rubis, History of Lyons, pag. 269.*

No whit affrighted with this terrible accusation, many late writers dare be their advocates to defend them, though confessing them guilty of some of these, but not in so high and hainous a manner as they are accused.

True it is, because most in that age ranne riot in adoring of Churches (as if some inherent sanctity was cieled to their roof, or plaistered to their walls; yea, such as might more ingratiate with God the persons and prayers of people there assembled) the Waldenses (out of that old errour not yet worn out, That the best way to straighten what is crooked, is to over-bow it) denied Churches that relative holinesse and fit reverence due unto them. Baptisme of infants they refused not (though * S. Bernard, taking it rather from the rebound then first rise, chargeth them therewith) but onely deferred it till it might be administred by one of their own Ministers; their tender consciences not digesting the Popish baptisme, where clear water by Gods ordinance, was by mans additions made a salve or plaister. That dominion was founded in grace, seemeth to be their very opinion: Yea, it hangeth as yet in the Schools on the file, and is not taken off, as a thing disputable, finding many favourers. But grant it a great errour (for wicked men shall be arraigned before God, not as usurpers, but as tyrants; not for not having right, but not right using the creatures) yet herein they proceeded not so farre as the Papists now-a-dayes, to unthrone and depose excommunicated Princes: So that they who do most, have least cause to accuse them. That they spoke too homely and

* *In his 66. Homily on the Canticles.*

Anno Dom. 1206

and courſely of the Romiſh Prieſts, inveighing too bitterly and uncharitably againſt them, condemning all for ſome, may perchance be proved: And no wonder if they ſpake ill of thoſe from whom they felt ill. But take their ſpeeches herein, as the words of men upon the rack, forced from them by the extremitie of cruel uſage.

In theſe errours the Albingenſes hope to find favour, if men conſider, Firſt, the ignorance of the age they lived in: It is no news to ſtumble in the dark. Secondly, the frailty (that ſquire of the body) attending on mans nature; yea, he ſhall be immortall who liveth till he be ſtoned by one without fault. Thirdly, the errours themſelves, which are rather in the outlimbes then vitalls of religion. And it may be conceived they might have been reclaimed, if uſed with gentle means, not catechized with fire and fagot; it being a true rule, That mens conſciences are more moved with leading then dragging or drawing.

But the ſting of the indictment is ſtill behind in the tail or end thereof; charging them with ſuch hainous errours in doctrine, and vices in life: All which the patrones for the defendants *deny and defie, as coined out of the mint of their enemies malice.

It will be objected, If denying the fact might ſerve the turn, we ſhould have no malefactours: This therefore is but a poore plea, barely to deny, when that ſuch clouds of witneſſes are againſt them. And grant they have a few ſtraggling writers, or ſome ſleeping records which may ſeem to acquit them, what are one or two men (though ſuppoſe them giants) againſt a whole army?

To this I find it anſwered for the Albingenſes, That it hath been the conſtant practice of the Romiſh writers, alwayes to defame thoſe that differ from them, eſpecially if they handle too roughly the *Noli me tangere* of the Popes ſupremacie. In later times what aſperſions, as falſe as foul, have * Cochleus and *Bolſecus laid on Luther and Calvine? Now how fearleſſe will they be to ſteal at midnight, who dare thus rob men of their good name at noon-day? When ſuch Authours as theſe lie with a witneſſe, yea, with many * witneſſes, who could diſprove them; no wonder if they take liberty falſely to accuſe the Albingenſes, conceiving themſelves out of the reach of confutation; writing in ſuch an age when all the Counſel is on their own ſide, being plaintiffs, and none aſſigned for the defendants.

Secondly, I find they produce the authenticall copies (ſuch as are above their enemies calumnies) of the Catechiſmes, Apologies, Remonſtrances of theſe Albingenſes; wherein the diſtilled doctrine of the Proteſtants is delivered free from Mani-

**Biſhop Jewel, Apol. part. 1. chap. 2. diviſ. 1.* Waldo and the reſt, for ought we know, and I beleeve (ſetting malice aſide) for ought you know, were godly men. Their greateſt errour was that they complained of the diſſolute and vitious lives of the Clergie.

** In vita Lutheri.*

** In vita Calvini.*

**Solidly confuted by Dr Whitaker, De notis Eccleſiæ, cap. 15.* Out of Melanchthon, Sleidan, Gryneus, Beza, eye-witneſſes

144

Manicheisme, or any other heresie fathered upon them.

Thirdly, their enemies slanders plainly appear in some particulars; which justly shaketh the credit of the whole accusation. For whereas they are charged with the Adamites willingly to have gone naked, we find them rather *nudati* then *nudi*, forced thereunto by the Popes Legate: Who being about to take the city of Carcassone in France, where these people most swarmed, he would not grant them their lives but on this condition, That both males and females should go forth, and passe by his army * stark-naked. Argued it not a very foul stomach in him who could feed his eyes with contentment on such a sight, which otherwise would more deeply have wounded the modesty of the beholder then of the doers, who did it by compulsion? See now how justly these innocents are charged! As well may the Israelites be blamed for cruelty to themselves, in puting out their own eyes, when they were commanded to do it by the mercilesse Ammonite.

Lastly, they are cleared by the testimonies of their very enemies; and who knoweth not, but such a witnesse is equivalent to a generall consent? For those, who, when bemadded with anger, most rave and rage against them, yet *per lucida intervalla*, in their cold bloud, when their words are indicted from their judgements not passions, do most sufficiently acquit them from these accusations.

Reinerius, a Jacobine Monk, and a cruel inquisitour of the Waldenses, testified, * That they lived justly before men, and beleeved all things well of God, and held all the articles contained in the Creed; onely they blasphemed the Romish Church, and hated it.

Claudius de Seissell Archbishop of Turin confesseth, As touching their life and manners they were sound and unreproveable, without scandal amongst men, giving themselves (to their power) to the observation of the commandments of God.

King Lewis the twelfth of France being throughly informed of the faith and life of the Waldenses in his time, bound it with an oath, That they were better men then he or his people. The same King having killed many of those poore people, and having called the place where they lived, *Vallis meretricia*, for their painted and dissembled piety, upon better instructions changed the name, calling it from himself, * The vale of Lewis.

William de Belai Lieutenant of Piemont gave this commendation of the Merindolites (a sprig which some hundred yeares after sprouted from the Waldenses) * That they were a laborious people, averse from suits, bountifull to the poore, duly paying their Princes tributes and Lords dues, serving God with

Anno Dom. ~~

* *So witnesseth Peter De valle Sarnensi, being himself a Monk, and lately printed* (anno 1615.) *in Paris. See Rivet On Genesis, pag.*138.

* *Cited by Fox in his Martyrol. pag.*232.

* *Thuanus, tom.*2. *lib.*27. *pag.*15.

* *Idem, tom.* 10. *lib.*6. *pag.*188.

Anno Dom. 1206

with daily prayers, and shewing forth much innocencie in manners. 145

Thuanus, one that writeth truth with a steadie hand, jogged neither by Romanists nor Huguenots, thus charactereth the * Con-waldenses, a stemme of that stock we speak of; They used raw pelts clapped about them for their clothes, the foure feet whereof served in stead of buttons; all equall in poverty, having no beggers amongst them; their diet on deer & milk: yet was there scarce any amongst them but could reade and write handsomely, understand the Bible, and sing psalmes; scarce a boy, but could presently and by heart give an account of his faith. Tribute they payed very religiously, &c.

* *Tom. 2. lib. 27. pag. 16*

More might be added; but I end all with Gamaliels words, * *If this work be of men, it will come to nought; but if it be of God, ye cannot overthrow it.* It argueth the goodnesse of their cause, in that all their enemies cruelty (unwise to think to spoil the growth of chamomile by trampling on it) could never suppresse them; but they continued till the dayes of Luther, when this morning-starre willingly surrendred his place to him a brighter sunne. But enough of their life and manners. And if any condemn me for superfluity herein, I guard my self with * S. Augustines shield, *Non est multiloquium, quando necessaria dicuntur, quantalibet sermonum multitudine ac prolixitate dicantur.*

* *Acts 5. 38, 39.*

* *In his preface to his Retractat.*

Chap. 21.

The Holy armie advance against the Albingenses; The cities of Besier and Carcassone taken.

POpe Innocent the third having now gathered together an armie of one hundred thousand Pilgrimes, set forwards for the finall exstirpation of the poore Albingenses. The best champions for his Holinesse herein, were the Duke of Burgundy, the Earls of Nevers, S^t^-Paul, Auxerre, Geneva, Poictiers, with Simon Earl of Montfort; Of the Clergie, Milo the Popes Legate, the Archbishops of Sens, Rovan; the Bishops of Clermont, Nevers, Lysieux, Bayeux, Chartres, with divers others; every Bishop with the Pilgrimes of his jurisdiction: To whom the Pope promised Paradise in heaven, but not one peny on earth. Their work was to destroy the Albingenses, which were in great numbers in Daulphine, Provence, Narbonne, Tholose, and other parts of France. Their Commission also extended to the rooting out of all their friends and favourers, whether

146 detected, or onely suspected; such as were Reimund Earl of Tholose, Reimund Earl of Foyx, the Vicecount of Besiers, Gaston Lord of Berne, the Earl of Bigorre, the Lady of la Vaur, with divers others. See here a new gate to heaven never opened before, for men to cut their way thither through the throats of their innocent brethren! Behold the holy Ghost, who once came down in the form of a Dove, now counterfeited in the shape of a Vulture! *Anno Dom.* 1206

But we must not forget how just before the warre began, the Pope pretended to reclaim them by reasons to the Church of Rome: To which end he gave order for a disputation with them. The parties, place, and time were agreed on; who, where, when they should dispute: but *in fine* nothing was effected. Yea, who ever knew conferences in so great oppositions to ripen kindly, and bring any fruit to perfection? For many come rather for faction then satisfaction, resolving to carry home the same opinions they brought with them: An upright moderatour will scarce be found, who hangeth not to one side: The place will be subject to suspicion, and hinder liberty: Boldnesse and readinesse of speech with the most (though not most judicious) auditours will bear away the bell from solidity of arguments: The passages in the disputing will be partially reported, and both sides will brag of the conquest; so that the rent will be made worse, and more spirits conjured up then allayed.

But now words ended in blows; the Pope onely entertaining them in * conferences, that in the mean time he might prepare his great armies more suddenly to suppresse them.

* *Jo. Paul Perin. De Albing. lib. 1. cap. 2.*

The first piece of service his souldiers performed, was in sacking the citie of Besiers, and burrough of Carcassone: In which many Catholicks, stedfast in the Romish faith, did dwell, and promiscuously were slain with the Albingenses; yea, Priests themselves were cut in pieces in their priestly ornaments, and under the banner of the Crosse: So that the swallowing of their foes made their friends also go down glib through their throats, without danger of choking. As for the city of Carcassone, which was not farre from the burrough; to the inhabitants thereof those immodest conditions were propounded, whereof formerly: which they refused; and God better provided for them: For whilest the citie was besieged, they escaped out by the benefit of a vault under ground, and so shifted abroad for themselves.

Anno Dom.

Chap. 22.

Simon Earl of Montfort choſen Captain of the Holy warre; He conquereth the King of Aragon, prevaileth againſt the Albingenſes, and at laſt is killed by a woman.

See the ſubſtance of this following ſtory, in Jo. Paul Perin. lib. 1. cap. 6. & deinceps.

HItherto this warre was managed by the Popes Legate: But now it was concluded that a ſecular captain ſhould be adjoyned to him, in whoſe perſon the chief command ſhould reſide over Martiall affairs; and for his pains, by the Popes donation, he was to enjoy all countreys that ſhould be conquered from the Albingenſes or their favourers. The place was offered to the Duke of Burgundy; who refuſed it, ſaying, He had lands and Lordſhips enow of his own, without ſpoiling others of their goods. It was waved alſo by the Earls of S^t^-Paul, and Nevers, whether out of conſcience or policie; becauſe though the Pope gave them the bears skinne, they muſt firſt kill and
1210. flay him themſelves. At laſt Simon of Montfort, nigh Paris, accepted of it, ſwearing to vex the Lords enemies. And for a breakfaſt to begin with, he was ſeiſed of the Vicecounty of Beſiers, proceeding from hence to take many caſtles and cities.

One grand inconvenience attended on this armie of Pilgrimes: For when their quarantine, or fourty dayes ſervice, was expired (the term the Pope ſet them to merit Paradiſe in) they would not ſtay one whit longer: Like poſt-horſes they would runne to their ſet ſtage, but could not be ſpurred one foot further; contenting themſelves they had already purchaſed heaven, and fearing they ſhould be put in poſſeſſion thereof too ſoon, by loſing their lives in that ſervice. And though the Biſhops perſwaded ſome few to ſtay, that ſo the ſurpluſage of their merits might make up the arrerages of their friends which wanted them, yet could they not prevail to any purpoſe. Nor could they ſo caſt and contrive their matters, the tide of peoples devotion being uncertain, but that betwixt the going out of the old and coming in of the new ſtore of Pilgrimes, there would be a low ebbe, wherein their armie was almoſt waſted to nothing: whereof the Albingenſes made no ſmall advantage.

However, the Earls of Tholoſe, Foyx, and Comminge, and Prince of Berne, the patrones of the Albingenſes, finding they were too weak for this Holy armie, ſheltered themſelves under Peter King of Aragon; whoſe homagers they were, re-

148 ceiving inveſtiture from him, though their dominions lay on this ſide of the Pyrenean hills. This King had the greatneſſe of the Earl of Montfort in ſuſpicion; fearing leſt theſe ſeverall Principalities, which now were ſingle arrows, ſhould be bound in one ſheaf, conquered and united under Earl Simon. Wherefore he fomented a faction in them againſt the Holy armie; publickly proteſting againſt the proceedings of Earl Simon; charging him to have turned the bark of Gods Church into a pirates ſhip, robbing others and enriching themſelves under the pretenſe of Religion, ſeiſing on the lands of good Catholicks for ſuppoſed hereticks, uſing Gods cauſe as hunters do a ſtand, in it the more covertly to ſhoot at what game they pleaſe: Otherwiſe, why was the Vicecount of Beziers, who lived and died firm in the Romiſh faith, lately trained into the Legates hand, and againſt oathes and promiſes of his ſafe return, kept cloſe priſoner till his death, and his lands ſeiſed on by Earl Simon?

Anno Dom.

At laſt the King of Aragon taking the Earl of Montfort on the advantage (ſhooting him as it were betwixt wind and water, the ending of the old and beginning of new Pilgrimes) forced him to a battel. The King had thirty thouſand foot and ſeven thouſand horſe; but the Earl, of both foot and horſe not above two thouſand two hundred. They cloſed together neare the caſtle of Moret: And the King, whether out of zeal of conqueſt and thirſt of honour, or diſtruſt of under-officers, or deſire to animate others, or a mixture of all, ranne his curvets ſo openly, and made his turns and returns in the head of the army, that ſo fair a mark invited his enemies arrows to hit him; by whom he was wounded to death, and fell from his horſe; to leſſon all Generals to keep themſelves, like the heart, in the body of the army, whence they may have a virtuall omnipreſence in every part thereof; and not to expoſe their perſons (which, like cryſtall viols, contain the extracted ſpirits of their ſouldiers ſpilled with their breaking) to places of imminent danger. With his bodie fell the hearts of his men: And though the Earls of Tholoſe, Foyx, and Comminge, perſwaded, entreated, threatned them to ſtay, they uſed their oratorie ſo long till their audience ranne all away, and they were fain to follow them, reſerving themſelves by flight to redeem their honour ſome other time. 1212.

Simon improving this victorie, purſued them to the gates of Tholoſe, and killed many thouſands. The Friars imputed this victory to the Biſhops benediction, and adoring a piece of the Croſſe, together with the fervency of the Clergies prayers, which remaining behind in the caſtle of Moret, battered heaven with their importunity. On the other ſide, the Albin-

Anno Dom.

bingenſes acknowledged Gods juſtice in puniſhing the proud King of Aragon; who, as if his arm had been ſtrong and long enough to pluck down the victory out of heaven without Gods reaching it to him, conceived that Earl Simon came rather to caſt himſelf down at his feet then to fight. But ſuch reckonings without the hoſt are ever ſubject to a rere-account. 149

Yet within few yeares the face of this warre began to alter: (With writers of ſhort-hand we muſt ſet a prick for a letter, a letter for a word, marking onely the moſt remarkables.) For young Reimund Earl of Tholoſe, exceeding his father in valour and ſucceſſe, ſo beſtirred himſelf, that in few moneths he regained what Earl Simon was many yeares in getting: And at
1218. laſt Earl Simon beſieging Tholoſe, with a ſtone which a woman let flie out of an engine, had his head parted from his body.

Men uſe not to be niggards of their cenſures on ſtrange accidents: Some paralleled his life with Abimelech that tyrant-Judge; who with the bramble (fitter to make a fire then a King of) accepted of the woodden Monarchie, when the vine, olive, figge-tree declined it. They paired them alſo in their ends, death diſdaining to ſend his ſummons by a maſculine hand, but arreſting them both by a woman. Some perſwaded themſelves they ſaw Gods finger in the womans hand; that becauſe the greater part of his cruelty lighted on the weaker ſex (for he had buried the Lady of laVaur alive, reſpecting neither her ſex nor nobility) a woman was choſen out to be his executioner: though of himſelf he was not ſo prone to cruelty, but had thoſe at his elbow which prompted him to it. The time of his death was a large field for the conceits of others to walk in; becauſe even then when the Pope and three Councels, of Vaur, Montpelier, and Laterane, had pronounced him ſonne, ſervant, favourite of the faith, the invincible defender thereof: And muſt he not needs break, being ſwoln with ſo many windie titles? Amongſt other of his ſtyles he was *Earl of Leiceſter in England, and father to Simon Montfort the * Catiline of this Kingdome, who under pretenſe of curing this land of ſome grievances, had killed it with his phyſick, had he not been killed himſelf in the battel of Evesholm in the reigne of Henry the third.

** See Camd. in Leiceſterſhire.*
** Alſo in Worceſterſhire.*

And here ended the ſtorm of open warre againſt the Albingenſes, though ſome great drops fell afterwards. Yea, now the Pope grew ſenſible of many miſchiefs in proſecuting this people with the Holy warre: Firſt, the incongruity betwixt the Word and the Sword; to confute hereticks with armies in the field, opened clamourous mouthes. Secondly, * three hundred thouſand of theſe Croiſed Pilgrimes loſt their lives in this expedition, within the ſpace of fifteen yeares; ſo that there was neither citie nor village in France, but by reaſon here-

** Perin, Of the Albingenſes, lib. 2. cap. 4.*

150 of had widows and orphanes cursing this expedition. And his Holinesse, after he had made allowance for his losse of time, bloud, and credit, found his gain *de claro* very small. Besides, such was the chance of warre, and good Catholicks were so intermingled with hereticks, that in sacking of cities they were slain together. Whereupon the Pope resolved of a privater way, which made lesse noise in the world, attracted lesse envy, and was more effectuall; To prosecute them by way of Inquisition. Hereby he might single them out by retail, rooting out the tares without hurting the corn, and overthrowing them by piece-meal whom he could never stagger in grosse. *Anno Dom.* 1206

Dominick a Spaniard was first authour hereof. Well did his mother, being with child of him, dream that she had a dog *vomiting fire in her wombe. This ignivomous curre (fire of the litter of Mendicant Friars called Dominicanes) did bark at and deeply bite the poore Albingenses. After his death, Pope Honorius for his good service bestowed a Saintship on him: For he dreamed he saw the Church of Rome falling, and Dominick holding it up with his shoulders; wherefore he canonized this Atlas of their religion. The proceedings of this Inquisition were the abridgement of all cruelty, turning the sword of Justice into the butchers ax. But no doubt God, when he maketh * inquisition for bloud, will one day remember this bloudy Inquisition. And who can but admire at the continuance of the doctrine of the Albingenses to this day, maugre all their enemies? Let those privy-counsellers of Nature, who can tell where swallows lie all winter, and how at the spring they have a resurrection from their seeming deadnesse, let those, I say, also inform us in what invisible sanctuaries this doctrine did lurk in spite of persecution, and how it revived out of its ashes at the coming of Luther. To conclude; it is observed, That in those parts of France where the Albingenses were most cruelly handled, now the Protestants (heirs to most of their tenets) flourish most: as in the countreys of Gascongne, Daulphine, and Languedoc.

* *Martyrol. in vita Dominici.*

* *Psal.9.12.*

Chap. 23.

King Almerick for his lazinesse deposed by the Pope.

WElcome the Holy land, welcome Ptolemais: How shallow and almost quite dry is the stream of Pilgrimes grown here, since the Pope hath drained it with so large a by-chanel into France! As

Anno Dom.

As for Almerick the idle King of Jeruſalem, we find him as we left him, drowning his cares conſtantly in wine: his hands being lazier then thoſe that are printed in the margent of a book, which point what others ſhould read; whileſt he would neither do, nor order what ſhould be done: So true was it of him, what is ſaid * of another, *Titularis non tutelaris Rex; defuit non præfuit Reipublicæ.* 151

And now the warre betwixt Noradine Saladines ſonne and Saphradine his uncle, about the ſovereignty, laſting nine yeares, ended with Saphradines death; and Noradine contented himſelf with the government of Aleppo, whileſt Saphradines two ſonnes ſhared his dominions, Coradine commanding in Damaſcus and Syria, and Meladine in Egypt.

* *Of Chilperick King of France.*

The former of theſe without any reſiſtance built a fort in mount Tabor, to the great annoyance of the Chriſtians. To prevent farther miſchief ariſing from Almericks negligence, the Pope (who would have a finger in every Crown, and a hand in this) depoſed him from the Kingdome. This Almerick, grieved to loſe what he was never carefull to keep, ſoon after died for ſorrow. But how doth this agree with Marinus Sanutus, who maketh him to die of a ſurfet of * gilt-heads five yeares ſooner, and ſaith there was five yeares *interregnum* in Paleſtine, wherein the Chriſtians had no King at all?

* *A fiſh called* Aurata, *or* Aurella.

Chap. 24.

John Bren made King of Jeruſalem. A moſt promiſing voyage into Paleſtine of new Pilgrimes; which remove the ſeat of the warre into Egypt.

1209 IN the place of Almerick the Pope appointed John de Bren, a private French Gentleman, to be King. Who, to twiſt his title with another ſtring, married Maria Iole the ſole daughter of Conrade late King of Jeruſalem. This John had behaved himſelf right valiantly amongſt other Latine Princes in the voyage againſt the Greeks, and was a moſt martiall man, as all do witneſſe: Onely one calleth him * *imbellem hominem*; why I know not, except he be of that humour to delight to be one of the Antipodes, treading oppoſite to a world of writers beſides. In the beginning of his reigne this accident (whether monſtrous or miraculous) fell out: In France, a boy (for his yeares) went about ſinging in his own tongue,

1213

* *Theod. à Niein, De privileg. imper. cap. De Expedit. Hieroſol.*

Jeſus

Anno Dom.

Numberlesse children ranne after him, and followed the same tune their captain and chanter did set them. No bolts, no barres, no fear of fathers or love of mothers could hold them back, but they would to the Holy land to work wonders there; till their merry musick had a sad close, all either perishing on land, or drowned by sea. It was done (saith my * authour) by the instinct of the devil, who, as it were, desired a cordiall of childrens bloud to comfort his weak stomach long cloyed with murdering of men.

* *Matth. Paris. in anno 1213. pag. 324. Prestigio diabolico penitus infatuati.*

Soon after began the Laterane Councel under Innocent the third: Wherein many things were concluded for the recovery of the Holy land; as, That the Crosse should every where be preached with zeal and earnestnesse to procure Pilgrimes; That all * tiltings in Christendome for three yeares should be forbidden, that so the spears of Christians might onely be broken against Infidels; That Clergie-men that went this voyage might (if need were) mortgage their Church-livings for three yeares to provide themselves with present necessaries; That all debters, during their Pilgrimage (though bound by oath in conscience, the strongest specialty) should be dispensed with to pay no use to their creditours; who if Christians, by excommunications; if Jews, were to be forced by the secular power to remit their interest; That all Priests should contribute the twentieth part of their revenues for three yeares, to advance this designe. And lest (saith his Holinesse) we should seem to lay heavy burdens on others which we will not touch with our least finger, we assigne a ship at our own cost to carry our Pilgrimes of the citie of Rome; and disburse for the present what can be spared from our necessary expenses, to the summe of thirty thousand pounds, to further the project: and for three yeares to come, we and our brethren the Cardinals of Rome, will fully pay the tenth of our Church-profits. 1215

* *Centuriat. Cent. 13. cap. 9.*

Hereupon next spring a numerous armie set forward to Palestine, conducted by Pelagius the Popes Legate, Andrew King of Hungarie (who having washed himself in the river of Jordan, would stay no longer, but instantly returned home) the three Electorall Archbishops, with those of Liege, Wirtzburg, Bamberg, Strasburg, Paris, &c. Lewis Duke of Bavaria, Leopold of Austria, a navie of our English, besides Florentines, Genoans, and many other nations. The autumne they spent in the fruitlesse besieging of the fort of mount Tabor; whilest King John Bren wonne from the Turks the castle of Pilgrimes, a piece of great consequence on the sea-side. 1216 *Nov.*

Then was it debated on both sides of translating the warre into 1217

Anno Dom. 1217

into Egypt. Which many adviſed to be done: For that countrey afforded the Turks their victuals and munition; and the beſt way to draw them low, was to ſtop them in the fountain. It was alſo moſt honour to rouſe the Lion in his own denne. And Paleſtine was ſo forraged, that there was nothing to be gleaned in the ſtubble; whereas Egypt was ſo rich and fruitfull, it cared not for the frowns of heaven, ſo it might have the favour of Nilus; and there was no fear to want bread in that the granary of the world. That according to the rule, *Plus animi eſt inferenti periculum, quàm propulſanti*; the Chriſtians would be heartened, but the Egyptians diſcouraged in the invaſion of Egypt. The ſad ſpectacle of their countreys vaſtation would diſturb their minds, make them diffident of their own worth, and unſufficient to maintain their cauſe. Laſtly, the Chriſtians might leave when they liſt, reſerving at all times Ptolemais to entertain them, in caſe fortune ſhould croſſe their deſignes.

But the reaſons to the contrary wanted not weight but weighing. They conſidered not (what was objected) That to invade a ſtrong entire countrey without having a partie within it to ſide with them, was to endeavour to cleave a tree with a beetle without a wedge. Beſides, Egypt was an exception from the rules of all other countreys, & had certain locall maximes of leading of an armie appropriated to it alone. That Valour muſt needs have the fall, when it wreſtleth with Nature it ſelf, and fighteth againſt bogs, rivers, and inundations. That it was more agreeable to reaſon, firſt to recover and defend what once was their own, before they attempted other mens poſſeſſions. That theſe their forces afforded little hope of victory in another Kingdome, which were not able to clear their own countrey, and the forts in Syria, from ſo dangerous an enemy. Laſtly, That the Egyptians fighting for their fathers, wives, and children, would raiſe their valour to the higheſt point of reſolution. Theſe arguments notwithſtanding, the watch-word was given for Egypt; whither all addreſſed themſelves.

And here began the diſcords betwixt King John and the Popes Legate, who challenged not onely an influence but a predominancy in every thing, and would dictate to the Generall what he ſhould do in martiall affairs: He preſumed on his book-learning to controll the practice of experienced captains by his military ſpeculations. The King ſtormed hereat, ſhewing there were ſome myſteries in the Captain-craft not communicable to any which had not ſerved the trade, and which the heart of a Scholar was too narrow to contain; That though Scholarſhip was a ſtock fit to graff any profeſſion on, yet ſome good time is requiſite thereunto; and that they muſt not think to proceed military Maſters at their firſt admiſſion in a camp; That though

154 | though the Legate might conceive himself to know the latitude of warlike principles, yet he knew not the use of distinctions, exceptions, and cautions of application; and might easily be misled by disproportion and dissimilitude of examples, the variation of circumstances, the infiniteness of punctuall occurrences: Wherefore he forbad him to meddle with martiall matters, challenging them to belong to his own dispossall. But Pelagius the Legate highly opinioned of his own sufficiencie, as if his place made him infallible in every thing, and loth to confesse himself besides the cushion whilest he sat in the chair, would have an oar in all actions. He held this conclusion, That the generall rules of warre were easily known; and as for the qualification of them *pro exigentia hîc & nunc*, herein reason was the key of the work, which scholars having most perfected by learning, were thereby the most competent judges what should be done on all occasions. How dearly the Christians payed for this his errour, and how this discord, smothered for a while, brake out, we shall see hereafter. Mean time, hoising up sails, the Pilgrimes navie safely arrived at Damiata. *Anno Dom.* 1217

Chap. 25.

Damiata besieged and taken; The Christians unadvisedly refuse honourable conditions.

DAmiata is a chief haven of Egypt, anciently Pelusium; seated on the Eastern-most stream of Nilus. Here the East and West world met together to exchange their wares; she grudging for trade to give the upper hand to Alexandria it self. 1218

* *Matth. Paris. in Joan. pag.* 401. At their landing * the moon was almost totally eclipsed: whence the Christians conceited (ghesse the frailnesse of the building by the unconstancy of the foundation) that the overthrow of the Mahometanes (whose ensigne was the * Half-moon) was portended. But the calculatours of after-chances seldome hit right. In the siege of this citie they were to encounter with a fourefold difficulty, besides Damiata it self: *July* 9.

* *Munster.*

First, with a great chain crossing the harbour: which with indefatigable pains, and art mingled with labour, they brake asunder; industry in action being as importunity in speech, by continuall inculcation forcing a yeelding beyond the strength of reason.

Secondly, the river Nilus did much annoy them. This river (the height of whose flowing is the Egyptian Almanack, whereby they prognosticate future plenty or penury) now out of time

Anno Dom. 1218

time and beyond measure drowned the countrey. Bold fishes swamme into the Christians tents, who took them with their hands,* though willingly they could have wanted such dainties; for the sauce was more then the meat. Against this mischief they fenced themselves with prayer, and a publick fast enjoyned by the Legate; whereby the water soon abated. And lest Gods mercie herein, when gotten, should be forgotten, a publick thanksgiving was proclaimed, that this favour obtained by prayer might be kept by praises.

* Illis tamen deliciis carere maluissent, *Matth. Paris pag.* 405.

Thirdly, they were to grapple with the fort of Pharia, a seeming-impregnable place, betwixt them and Damiata. To check this fort, the Christians built a towre on ships: which suddenly falling, brained many, bruised more of their own men; and all who felt not the blow, were stricken with the fright. King John comforted his souldiers discouraged hereat, desiring them to apprehend actions by their true causes; and as not to vaunt of blind victories, so not to be dismayed at casuall mishaps, so purely accidentall, that there was no guard against them in the schools of defense, either of wisdome or valour. By his advice a more substantiall towre was built, the rarest piece in that kind the world ever saw; by the manning whereof, after many bloudy assaults, they mastered the fort of Pharia.

Aug. 24.

Fourthly, they had to do with Meladine King of Egypt, who lay besides them, constantly furnishing the citie with men and victuals, and exercising the Christians with continuall skirmishes. In one, with his wild-fire he did them much harm, and King John was dangerously scorched. But seeing that the Christians hewed their way through the rocks of all difficulties, he propounded peace unto them by the mediation of Noradine his brother, King of Damascus; profering them, if they would depart, to restore them the true Crosse, the citie of Jerusalem, and all the land of Palestine.

1219 *Febr.*

* The English, French, and Italians would have embraced the conditions, pleading, That honourable peace was the centre of warre, where it should rest; That they could not satisfie their conscience to rob these Egyptians of their lands without a speciall command from God; That it was good wisdome to take so desperate a debt whensoever the payment was tendred; otherwise, if they would not be content with their arms full, they might perchance return with their hands emptie.

* *P. Æmyl. pag.* 201.

But the Legate would no wayes consent, alledging this voyage was undertaken not onely for the recovery of Palestine, but for the exstirpation of the Mahometane superstition. And herein no doubt he followed the instructions of his master, whose end in this warre was, That this warre should have no end, but be alwayes in doing though never done. He knew it was dan-

156

*Magdeburg. Cent. 13. cap. 16. col. 692.

gerous to stop an issue which had been long open; and would in no case close up this vent of people by concluding a finall peace. Besides, an old propheſie, * That a Spaniard should win Jerusalem, and work wonders in those parts, made Pelagius that countrey-man more zealous herein. Coradine angry his profer was refused, beat down the walls of Jerusalem and all the beautifull buildings therein, save the towre of David and the temple of the Sepulchre. Not long after, Damiata having been beſieged one yeare and seven moneths, was taken without reſistance; plague and famine had made such a vastation therein. The Christians entred with an intent to kill all; but their anger soon melted into pity, beholding the citie all bestrawed with corpses. The sight was bad, and the sent was worse; for the dead killed the living. Yea, Gods sword had left their sword no work: Of * threescore and ten thousand but three thousand remained; who had their lives pardoned on condition to cleanse the citie: which imployed them a quarter of a yeare. Hence the Christians marched and took the citie of Tanis; and soon after the Pope substituted * John de Columna, a Cardinall, Legate in the place of Pelagius.

Anno Dom. 1219

Nov. 5.

* P. Æmyl. pag. 203.

*Magdeburg. pag. 693.

Chap. 26.

New discords betwixt the King and the Legate; They march up to beſiege Cairo.

GReat was the spoil they found in Damiata: wherein, as in strong barred chests, the merchants of Egypt and India had locked up their treasure. A full yeare the Christians stayed here, contented to make this inne their home. Here arose new discords betwixt the King and the new Legate, who by vertue of his Legation challenged Damiata for his Holinesse, which by publick agreement was formerly assigned to the King. Bren in anger returned to Ptolemais, both to puff out his discontents in private, & to teach the Christians his worth by wanting him: For presently they found themselves at a losse; neither could they stand still without disgrace, nor go on without danger. The Legate commanded them to march up; but they had too much spirit to be ruled by a Spirituall man, and swore not to stirre a step except the King was with them. Messengers therefore were sent to Ptolemais to fetch him. They found him of a steelie nature; once through-hot, long in cooling: yet by promising him he should have his own desires, they over-perswaded him not to starve an armie by feeding his own humours.

1220

Scarce

Anno Dom. 1220

Scarce after eight moneths abſence was he returned to Damiata, but new diviſions were betwixt them: The Legate perſwaded the armie to march up and beſiege Cairo; he promiſed, if they would obey him, they ſhould quickly command all Egypt, by preſent invading it. Let defendants lie at a cloſe guard, and offer no play. Delayes are a ſafe ſhield to ſave, but celerity the beſt ſword to winne a countrey. Thus Alexander conquered the world before it could bethink it ſelf to make reſiſtance. And thus God now opened them a doore of victorie, except they would barre it up by their own idleneſſe.

But the King adviſed to return into Syria; That Cairo was difficult to take, and impoſſible to keep; That the ground whereon they went, was as treacherous as the people againſt whom they fought; That better now to retire with honour, then hereafter flie with ſhame; That none but an empirick in warre will denie, but that more true valour is in an orderly well grounded retreat, then in a furious raſh invaſion.

But the Legate uſed an inartificiall argument drawn from the authority of his place, thundering excommunication againſt thoſe that would not march forward: And now needs muſt they go when he driveth them.

The crafty Egyptians (of whom it is true, what is ſaid of the Parthians, Their flight is more to be feared then their fight) ran away, counterfeiting cowardlineſſe. The Chriſtians triumphed hereat; as if the ſilly fiſh ſhould rejoyce that he had caught the fiſherman, when he had ſwallowed his bait. The Legate hugged himſelf in his own happineſſe, that he had given ſo ſucceſſefull advice. And now ſee how the garland of their victory proved the halter to ſtrangle them.

Chap. 27.

The miſerable caſe of the drowned Chriſtians in Egypt. Damiata ſurrendred in ranſome of their lives.

EGypt is a low level countrey, except ſome few advantages which the Egyptians had fortified for themſelves. Through the midſt of the land ran the river Nilus; whoſe ſtream they had ſo bridled with banks and ſluces, that they could keep it to be their own ſervant, and make it their enemies maſter at pleaſure. The Chriſtians confidently marched on; and the Turks perceiving the game was come within the toil, pierced their

158 banks, and unmuzzling the river, let it runne open mouth upon them; yet so, that at first they drowned them up but to the middle, reserving their lives for a further purpose, thereby in exchange to recover Damiata and their countreys liberty. *Anno Dom.* 1220

See here the land of Egypt turned in an instant into the Egyptian sea! See an army of sixty thousand, as the neck of one man, stretched on the block, and waiting the fatall stroke! Many cursed the Legate, and their own rashnesse, that they should follow the counsel of a gowned man (all whose experience was clasped in a book) rather then the advice of experienced captains. But too late repentance, because it soweth not in season, reapeth nothing but unavoidable miserie.

Meladine King of Egypt seeing the constancy and patience of the Christians, was moved with compassion towards them. He had of himself strong inclinations to Christianity, wearie of Mahometanisme, and willing to break that prison, but for watchfull jaylers about him. He profered the Christians their lives, on condition they would quit the countrey and restore Damiata. They accepted the conditions, and sent messengers to Damiata to prepare them for the surrendring of it. But they within the citie, being themselves safe on shore, tyrannized on their poore brethren in shipwrack; pretending, That this armie of Pilgrimes deserved no pity, who had invited this misfortune on themselves by their own rashnesse; That if they yeelded up this citie for nothing, which cost so many lives, they should betray themselves to the derision of the whole world; That if these perished, more men might be had, but no more Damiata's; being a place of such importance, it would alwayes be a snaffle in the mouth of the Egyptian King. On the other side, the friends of the distressed Christians confessed, That indeed their voyage was unadvised and justly to be blamed; yet worse and more inconsiderate projects have armies oft undertaken, which, if crowned with successe, have been above censure, yea, have passed not onely without questioning but with commendations: But this is the misery of misery, that those who are most afflicted of God, shall be most condemned of men. Wherefore they requested them to pity their brethren, and not to leave them in this forlorn estate. How clamourous would their innocent bloud be in the court of Heaven, to sue for revenge on those who forsook them in this distresse! And grant Damiata a citie of great consequence; yet cities in themselves were but dead things, and men were the souls to enliven them: so that those souldiers which wonne Damiata, if preserved alive, might haply recover as strong a citie afterwards.

But finding their arguments not to prevail, they betook themselves to arms, by force to compell the adverse party to resigne

Anno Dom. 1220

resigne the citie. King John also threatned, in case they denied to surrender it, to give up to Meladine Ptolemais in Syria in exchange for Damiata. At last, according to the agreement, Damiata was restored to the Turks, and the Christian armie let out of the trap wherein it was taken. Meladine out of his princely goodnesse furnished them with* victuals, and with horses to carry their feeble persons upon. And thus the Christians had the greatest blow given them without a blow given them; the Egyptians obtaining their victory not by bloud but by water.

159

*P. Æmyl. pag. 205.

Chap. 28.

John Bren resigneth the Kingdome of Jerusalem to Frederick the second, Germane Emperour.

THere was also concluded a peace with the Turks for eight yeares. And now matters being settled as well as they might be in Syria, King John took a journey to Rome; where he was bountifully feasted, and honourably entertained by the Pope. Here it was agreed (whether at the first by his voluntary offer, or working of others, it appeareth not) that he should resigne the Kingdome of Jerusalem to Frederick the second, Germane Emperour, who was to marry Iole the sole daughter of King John by his first wife; though by a second he had another, Martha, married to Robert Emperour of Constantinople: so that he was father in law both to Emperour of East and West.

Some condemned his resignation as an unadvised act; as if he had first parted from his wits, who would willingly part from a Kingdome; whilest others commend his discretion: For first, his wife was dead, in whose right he held his Kingdome, and thereby a doore was opened for other litigious pretenders to the Crown. Secondly, it was policie, *fugere nè fugaretur*: yea, this was no flight, but an honourable departure. Well he knew the Turks power to invade, and his own weakneſſe to defend what was left in Syria: So that finding the weight too heavy for himself, he did well to lay it on stronger shoulders. Thirdly, before his resignation he had little more then a title: and after it he had nothing lesse; men having so tuned their tongues to salute him King of Jerusalem, that he was so called to the day of his death. Lastly, what he wanted in the statelinesse of his bed, he had in the soundnesse of his sleep; and though his commons perchance were shorter, yet he battled better on them.

He

160

He got now more in a twelve-moneth then in seven yeares before, going from countrey to countrey: And yet the farther this stone rolled, the more mosse he gathered. In France, besides rich gifts left to himself, he had the managing of sixty thousand crowns; the legacie which Philip Augustus the King on his death-bed * bequeathed to the Templars and the Holy warre. In England he received from Henry the third many great presents; though afterwards he proved but * unthankfull for them. In Spain he got a rich wife, Beringaria, the daughter of the King of Castile. In Italie he tasted very largely of the Popes liberalitie, and lived there in good esteem. But he went off the stage without an applause, because he lost himself in his last act; perfidiously raising rebellions against Frederick his sonne in law, at the instigation of his Holinesse. Nor recovered he his credit, though after he went to his sonne Robert to Constantinople, and there did many good offices. He died *anno* 1237.

Anno Dom. 1220

* P. Æmyl. in Phil. 2. pag. 205.
* Matth. Paris. pag. 627.

Chap. 29.

The true character of Frederick; How the history of his life is prejudiced by the partialitie of Authours on both sides.

THe nuptiall solemnities of Frederick with the Lady Iole were performed at Rome, in the presence of the Pope, with all ceremonies of majesty; and Frederick promised to prosecute in person his title in Palestine within two yeares. Little hope have I to content the reader in this Kings life, who cannot satisfie my self; writers of that age are so possessed with *partiality. The faction of the Guelfes and Gibellines discovereth not it self more plainly in the Camp then in the Chronicles: Yea, Historians turn Schoolmen in matters of fact, arguing them *pro & con.* And as it is in the Fable of the man that had two wives; whilest his old wife plucked out his black hairs, the evidence of his youth, his young one ungray-haired him, that no standards of antiquity might remain, they made him bald betwixt them: So amongst our late writers; whilest Protestants cut off the authority from all Papized writers of that age, and Romanists cast away the witnesse of all Imperialized authours then living (such as Urspergensis is, and generally all Germanes) counting them *testes domesticos*, and therefore of no validitie, betwixt them they draw all historie of that time very

* *Blondus, Fazellus, &c. for the Pope. Urspers. Petrus de Vineis (till corrupted with bribes) &c. for the Emperour. Matth. Paris, a moderate man, whom we follow most.*

Anno Dom. 1227

very ſlender, and make it almoſt quite nothing. We will not engage our ſelves in their quarrels; but may ſafely beleeve, that Frederick was neither ſaint, nor devil, but man. Many vertues in him his foes muſt commend, and ſome vices his friends muſt confeſſe. He was * very learned, according to the rate of that age, eſpecially for a Prince, who onely baiteth at learning, and maketh it not his profeſſion to lodge in. Wiſe he was in projecting; nor were his thoughts ever ſo ſcattered with any ſudden accident, but he could inſtantly recollect himſelf. Valiant he was, and very fortunate; though this tendeth more to Gods praiſe then his: Wondrous bountifull to ſcholars and ſouldiers; whoſe good will he enjoyed, for he payed for it.

But this Gold had its allay of Cruelty; though this was not ſo much bred in him as he brought to it: Treaſons againſt him were ſo frequent, he could not be ſafe but muſt be ſevere, nor ſevere without incurring the aſperſion of crueltie. His Pride was exceſſive; and ſo was his Wantonneſſe: A Nunnes vail was but a ſlender ſhield againſt his luſt: This ſinne he was given to, * which was beſides the cuſtome of the Dutch, ſaith one, who though great friends to Bacchus, are no favourites of Venus; which is ſtrange, that they ſhould heap up ſo much fewel, and have no more fire.

In a word, he was a better Emperour then a man, his vices being perſonall, moſt hurting himſelf; his vertues of a publick nature, and accompliſhing him for government.

161

* *Pantal. De viris illuſtr. Germ. part. 2. pag.* 121.

* Præter gentis morem, *Egnatius.*

Chap. 30.

Mines and countermines betwixt the Emperour and the Pope, ſeeking to blow up, or at leaſtwiſe to ſtay the projects each of other.

IT is verily conceived that the Pope provided this match for Frederick to imploy him in Paleſtine, whileſt he at home might play his game at pleaſure. For as provident Nature in marſhalling the elements, aſſigned fire a place in the verge and border of this lower world farre from the reſt, leſt otherwiſe the activity thereof might ſet the others in combuſtion: ſo the Pope diſpoſed this hot violent-ſpirited Emperour farre off, and engaged him in a diſtant and dangerous warre out of the borders of Europe.

Frederick ſmelt the project of his Holineſſe, being alſo maſter in the art of diſſembling, though he muſt acknowledge the

162 Pope his senior in that faculty: Wherefore he deferred the performance of his promise and his voyage into Palestine from moneth to moneth, and yeare to yeare, wisely gaining time by losing it. *Anno Dom.* 1227.

The truth was, he was not yet ripe for such an expedition. The Pope was afraid of his valour, he of the Popes treachery; and more feared him behind his back then the Turk before his face. He was loth to let go the Eagle he had in hand, to catch the little bird that was in the bush. Wherefore as yet he refused to go, pleading that the eight yeares truce which King Bren had made with the Turks, was not yet expired; before which time to fight against them, was to fight against God and conscience: and that it was no way to propagate the Faith by breach of faith.

Pope Honorius continued still to put him in mind of his promise: Yea, he rubbed his memory so roughly, he fetched off the skinne, with his threats and menaces. But before Fredericks journey began, Honorius his life ended, and Gregory the ninth succeeded him; who at the first dash excommunicated the Emperour for his delay. *Mar.* 19.

Know by the way, that his name-sake Gregory the seventh (otherwise Hildebrand) first hanselled his excommunication on Henry the fourth. Before his time the Imperiall majesty (what is observed of the Seal, that it is never hit with thunder) was never fulminated against with excommunication: afterward nothing more usuall; till the commonnesse of those thunderbolts caused their contempt, and the Emperours natures were so used to this physick it would not work with them. Of late his Holinesse is grown more advised, very sparingly using them, especially against Protestant Princes; counting it policie to hold that weapon within the scabbard which hath no other edge but what is given it by the opinion of those against whom it is used.

Frederick at last cometh forth of Germany with his armie, marcheth through Italy, cometh to Brindisi, where the plague seiseth on his men, whereof died the Landtgrave of Thuringia, and others. Soon after he fell very desperately sick himself, which stayed his journey many moneths. *Sept.* 13.

It went neare to the Pope, that the Emperour was so neare to him: His case now was worse then formerly: For he had rouzed the Lion out of his denne, but could not get him into the net. His sickneſſe must either be more or lesse to do good. And the Pope having no variety of weapons, excommunicated him afresh, pretending Fredericks disease was onely the cramp of lazinesse, and that he was sick to do good, but swooned to do mischief; as appeared by his unjust seising on the goods

goods of Lewis Landtgrave of Thuringia late deceaſed. 163

Anno Dom. 1228 *Aug.* 11. The Emperour proteſted his innocencie, accuſed the Popes injuſtice, putting himſelf on the triall of all Chriſtian Princes; to whom he wrote letters. At laſt health came, and Frederick departed, bearing up with his navie for Paleſtine. The Pope hearing thereof, belibelled him more fouly then ever before, becauſe like an undutifull ſonne he departed without his Fathers bleſſing, being not abſolved and reconciled to his Mother the Church.

Chap. 31.

Frederick recovereth all Paleſtine and Jeruſalem without expenſe of time or bloud.

SEe how Gods bleſſing goeth along with the Popes curſes! The fame of Fredericks valour and maiden fortune, never as yet ſpotted with ill ſucceſſe, like an harbinger haſtening before, had provided victorie to entertain him at his arrivall; yea, this Emperour, ſwifter then Ceſar himſelf, overcame before he came over into Paleſtine.

At this time the ſtate of the Turks in Syria was very aguiſh, and Fredericks coming put them into a ſhaking fit. * Coradine was dead, his children in minority, the Turkiſh Souldans factious, boiling in enmity one againſt another. Whereupon the Sultan of Babylon, who was of chiefeſt authority, and governed Syria, profered Frederick ſo honourable conditions as he might deſire, but could never hope for: namely, To reſtore unto him Jeruſalem and all Paleſtine, in as full and ample a manner as it was poſſeſſed by Baldwine the fourth, before Saladine ſubdued it; To ſet all Chriſtian captives at liberty; provided, that the Turks might have acceſſe to the Sepulchre, (though not lodging in the citie but ſuburbs, and that in ſmall numbers at a time) there to do their devotions, they alſo having a knowledge of, and giving an honour to Chriſt, though no better then ignorance and diſhonour of him. * *Centuriat.*

Frederick before he ratified any thing by oath, ſent to have the Popes approbation: * who ill entreated and impriſoned his meſſengers, denied them audience, and contemptuouſly tore the Emperours letters. Wherefore Frederick without, yea, againſt his Holineſſe conſent, concluded a ten yeares truce with the Sultan; and on * Eaſter-day triumphantly entring Jeruſalem, crowned himſelf King with his own hands. For Gerard Patriarch of Jeruſalem, and Oliver maſter of the Templars, * *Centuriat.*

1229 * *Matth. Pariſ. in anno 1229. pag. 480.*

164 * *Matth. Pariſ. in anno 1229. pag. 479.*

with all the Clergie, abſented themſelves; neither was there any * maſſe ſung in the citie as long as the Emperour being excommunicated remained there. *Anno Dom.* 1229

See that produced as it were in an inſtant which the ſucceſſion of many yeares could not perform, all the Holy land recovered! Some gallants perchance (whoſe curious palates count all conqueſts drie meat which are not juyced with bloud) will diſpraiſe this Emperours victory for the beſt praiſe thereof, becauſe it was ſo eaſily gotten without drawing his ſword for it. But they deſerve to go naked who ſcorn to wear good clothes if they coſt not dear.

The Templars were vexed at heart that they had no partnerſhip in the glory of this action; yea, this touched their copyhold: Had they lived lazie thus long in Paleſtine, ſucking the * ſweet of Chriſtendome to no purpoſe? See, Frederick with few men, little money, leſſe time, as maſter of his craft, had finiſhed that which theſe bunglers had ſo long in vain been fumbling about!

* *Idem, ibidem.*

Wherefore they wanting true merit to raiſe themſelves to the pitch of Fredericks honour, ſought by falſe detraction to depreſſe him to the depth of their own baſeneſſe; defaming him, as if he conſpired with the Sultan to the ruine of all Chriſtianity. In the mean time the Chriſtians every where built and repaired the cities of Paleſtine, being now reſigned into their hands. Joppa and Nazareth they ſtrongly fortified: the walls of Jeruſalem were repaired, the Churches therein adorned, and all publick edifices either wholly caſt their skin with the ſnake, or at leaſtwiſe renewed their bill with the eagle, having their fronts either built or beautified. But new tackling to an old rotten keel will never make ſerviceable ſhip. Short were the ſmiles of this citie, which groning under Gods old curſe, little joyed her ſelf in this her new bravery.

The end of the third Book.

The Historie of the HOLY WARRE.

Book IV.

Chap. 1.

Frederick battered with the Popes force, and undermined with his fraud, leaveth Palestine, and returneth into Italy.

Anno Dom. 1229

THus the Christian affairs in Palestine were in good case and possibility of improvement. But the Pope knew he should catch no fish if the waters were thus clear: Wherefore he stirred up John Bren, Fredericks father in law (ghesse whether his plots ran not low when he used such dregs) to raise a rebellion in Italy against him.

His Holinesse spread a false report of purpose, that Frederick was dead. Who would think there were so much substance in a shadow! This vain rumour wrought reall effects, strengthening Fredericks foes with hopes, and staggering his friends with fear and uncertainties. Bren striking the iron whilest it was hot, wonne many places from the Emperour: And though Time soon after was delivered of her daughter Truth, yet the confutation came too late, to shut the doore when the steed was stoln; the Pope having attained his ends, and served his turn already.

A jubile of liberty was proclaimed to all the Emperours subjects, and they dispensed with from the Pope for their allegeance to him. Milain, and many other cities in Italy, formerly Imperiall, danced at this musick, made a foot-cloth of their Masters livery, and from this time dated themselves Free-States. Here was brave gleaning, where all ranne away with whole

166 sheaves; where robbery was priviledged for lawfull purchase. And the Pope, wise enough not so to give away the pie but to keep the best corner for himself, carved all Apulia for his own part. *Anno Dom.* 1229

Whilest hostility in Italy, treason beset Frederick in Syria; the Templars intimated to the Sultan his private project to wash himself in Jordan, that so he might be surprized. But the Sultan (no doubt out of pity to see a Lion catched in a Fox-trap, there being a consanguinity of all Princes, and the royall bloud which runneth in their veins causing a sympathie of Majesty betwixt them) scorned to advantage himself by treachery, and sent their letters to Frederick: Who afterwards used the Templars, and generally all the Clergie in Palestine (counting them complies with the Pope) coursely, not to say cruelly.

At last having confirmed his ten yeares truce, and having appointed Reinoldus Duke of Bavaria his Lieutenant in Syria, without noise he cometh into Europe: For to return triumphantly in state, had been but an alarm to awaken envy, and a warning-piece for his enemies to prepare against him. He outsailed fame it self, landing in Italy in person before he arrived there in report. Then the love of his loyall subjects, hitherto rather covered then quenched, appeared; and though formerly forced to a contrary motion, returned now quickly to their own Prince their proper centre.

Within fifteen dayes, assisted with the Duke of Spoletum, Frederick recovered all which was wonne from him, and unravelled the fair web of John Brens victory, even to the very hemme thereof.

Then was all Italy (resembled by Geographers for the fashion thereof, to a mans legge) troubled with the incurable gout of schisme and faction: Not a city of note in it which was not dichotomized into the sect of the Guelfes, which favoured the Pope, and Gibellines, which adhered to the Emperour.

Guelfes

Anno Dom. 1229

Guelfes for the Pope.		Gibellines for the Emperour.		Guelfes for the Pope.		Gibellines for the Emperour
Vrſini, *Sabellii*	in Rome	*Columnienſes*, *Frangepanes*, *Cæſarini*		*Floſci*, *Grimaldi*, *Fregoſii*	in Genoa	*Spinolæ*, *Adurnii*, *Dorii*
Adimarii, *Bondelmontii*, *Amidei*, *Cerchii*, *Riccii*, *Medicei*, *Paſſii*	in Florence	*Pazii*, *Uberti*, *Donati*, *Albicii*, *Strozi*, *Salviati*		*Caneduli*, *Pepuli*, *Mareſcotti*	in Bononia	*Bentivoli*, *Malvecii*
				Eſtenſes	in Ferrara	*Saliguerri*
Interminelli	in Lucca	*Obicii*		*Vicecomites*	in Milain	*Turregiani*
	in Padua	*Carrarii*		*Gonzagæ*	in Mantua	*Bonacurſii*

These are collected out of Lampad. Mellif. Hiſt. part. 3. pag. 303.

I will not quarrel with the tradition,* That Elves and Goblins in our Engliſh tongue had their firſt originall from the depravation of the names of Guelfes and Gibellines. If ſo, ſure I am, what now we make *terriculamenta infantum*, ſcarecrows to affright children, were then true Harpyes to devoure men.

** Sr John Harington.*

I would farther proſecute theſe diſcords; and alſo ſhew how Frederick was forced to ask pardon of him who had moſt wronged him, and dearly to purchaſe his abſolution from the Pope; (For though this Emperours heart was as hard as ſtone, yet was it furrowed, dinted, and hollowed at laſt with the Popes conſtant dropping and inceſſant raining of curſes upon him) But I dare wander no farther in this ſubject, leſt any ſhould queſtion my Paſſe; but return back to the Holy land.

Chap. 2.

The Tartars firſt appearing in the world affright both Chriſtians and Turks; Of their name and nature; Whether Turks or Tartars be eaſier convertible to the true religion.

REinoldus Duke of Bavaria being left Fredericks Lieutenant in Syria, wiſely diſcharged his office, and preſerved the peace entire which was concluded with the Sultan of Babylon. But the Templars ſought by all means to bring this ten yeares truce to an untimely end; which was as bad as a Lent to them, wherein they muſt faſt from fighting, the meat and drink of turbulent ſpirits. Theſe counting all luke-warm which were not ſcalding hot, condemned Reinoldus for want of zeal in the Holy warre, and gave him many a lift to heave him from his place:

168

place; but still he sat sure, poised with his own gravity. Nor did the enmity of Henry King of Cyprus much trouble him, who challenged the Principality of Antioch, as next of kinne to the Prince deceased: For Reinold met and defeated him in battel, and bestowed Antioch on* Frederick, base sonne to Frederick the Emperour.

Anno Dom. 1232

** Magdeburg. Cent. 13. cap. 16.*

But that which kept both Christians and Turks in aw, and made them willing mutually to observe the truce, was the fear of the Tartars, a fierce nation, which now had their first flight out of their own nest into the neighbouring countreys.

These Tartarians, anciently called Scythians, inhabit the Northern part of Asia, a countrey never conquered by any of the Monarchs, priviledged from their victorious arms chiefly by its own barrennesse: For except souldiers were ambitious of hunger and cold, here is nothing to countervail their pains of an invasion; yea, no meat to maintain them. It is true, rhubarb the best of drugs groweth in this the worst of countreys: But souldiers seek rather for food then physick when they invade a countrey. A greater part of their land is undiscovered, though map-makers, rather then they will have their maps naked and bald, do periwig them with false hair, and fill up the *vacuum* (especially towards the North) with imaginary places of * *Ung*, and *Gog*, and the plains of *Bargu*: So true it is what one saith wittily in the Comedie, That Phantastes the servant of Geographus travelled further beyond the arctick circle then ever his master durst.

** See Mercators maps.*

If it be surest to follow the most, the stream of writers make it called Tartaria from the river Tartar: but Europe and Asia will by wofull experience justifie the etymologie, if deduced from *Tartarus*, Hell. For when the spring-tides of this nation overflowed the banks, hell might seem to have broken loose, and to have sent so many devils abroad.

As for those that count them the off-spring of the ten tribes of Israel, which Salmanasar led away captive, because *Tatari* or *Totari* signifieth in the Hebrew and Syriack tongue, a *residue* or *remnant*, * learned men have sufficiently confuted it. And surely it seemeth a forced and overstrained deduction, to farre-fetch the name of Tartars from an Hebrew word, a language so farre distant from them. But no more hereof: because perchance herein the womans reason hath a masculine truth; and the Tartarians are called so, because they are called so. It may be, curious Etymologists (let them lose their wages who work in difficult trifles) seek to reap what was never sown, whilest they study to make those words speak reason, which are onely *voces ad placitum*, imposed at pleasure.

** See Brierwoods Enquiries, chap. 13.*

Under their new name Tartarians, they keep their old nature of

Anno Dom. 1232

of Scythians, fierce, cruel; yea, sometimes in stead of other meat, making man their meat. * One humour they have, much affecting the owl, a bird which other nations scorn and hate, as the usher of ill luck. The occasion was this, A King of Tartary sought for by his enemies, hid himself in a bush, whither his foes came to seek him; when presently an owl flew out of the place: Whereupon they desisted from further search, conceiving that that anchorite bird proclaimed nothing was there but solitude and desolation. Hence in gratitude they never count themselves more gay then when their helmets are hung with owls feathers. Whereat I should strange more, but that I find this fowl dedicated to * Minerva the Goddesse of wit, and that Athens (schoolmistresse of the world) counted it a token of victory. The King of these Tartarians styleth himself, The great Cham, and is monarch of a great part of the world in possession, of the rest in imagination. He taketh and his subjects give him little lesse then divine honour; who in other things at this time were pure Pagans and Idolaters. Now their countrey, which is like a poore man whose common is overstocked with children, swarming with more bees then hives, sent their superfluous numbers to seek their fortunes amongst the Christians. They needed no steel-armour who had iron-bodies. Onely with bows, cruelty, and multitude they overranne Lituania, Podolia, Polonia, and those countreys which are the East-boundanes of Europe. Others took their way Southward into Asia, committing outrages as they went; and sensible how incomparably their own countrey was surpassed for pleasure and profit by these new lands (blame not their judgement if they preferred a palace before a prison) they little cared to return home.

169

* *Sabell. Enn. 9. lib. 6. pag. 391.*

* *Vide Erasm. Adag. in* Noctua volat

Their incursions into Europe were so farre and frequent, that Pope Innocent the fourth, about the yeare 1245, began to fear them in Italy. Wherefore he sent Askelin, a Friar much admired in that age, with three other, into Tartaria, to convert that nation to Christianity. Where Askelin in stead of teaching them the elements of our religion, laid this foundation, to amplifie to them the power of the Pope, setting him out in his full dimensions; How he was above all men in the Christian world. A good nurse, to feed infants, in stead of milk, with such drie bones: enough almost to affright them from entring into our Church, seeing such a giant as they painted the Pope, to stand before the doore.

But Baiothnoi chief Captain of the Tartarian armie (for they were not admitted to speak with the great Cham himself) cried quits with this Friar, outvying him with the greatnesse and divinity of their Cham; and sent back by them a blunt letter:

170 *Magdeburg. Cent. 13. cap. 2. Sed ex Vincent. lib. 31. cap. 51*

" * Pope, know this; Thy messengers came and brought " letters to us: Thy messengers spake great words; we know " not whether thou enjoynedst them, or whether they spake of " themselves: and in thy letters thou writest thus, Many men " you kill, slay, and destroy —— At last he thus concluded; " If thou wilt set upon our land, water, and patrimony, it be- " hoveth that thou, Pope, in thy proper person come unto us; " and that thou come to him who containeth the face of the " whole earth; meaning their great Cham.

Anno Dom. 1232

Never did his Holinesse so meet with his match before. He durst not meet the great Cham of the East, his competitour in the imaginary monarchie of the world, to trie whose title was truest. Let others tear their skins, he would sleep in a whole one. And indeed that Shepherd loved his flock of Christians better, then by his absence in a long journey into Tartaria to expose them to the wolves. And so the conversion of Tartarie at that time was disappointed.

It is a pretty *quære*, Whether Turks or Tartars be easier convertible to Christian religion: I mean *ex parte objecti*; for otherwise all things are equally easie to an infinite agent. Now it seemeth the Tartars are reducible with most facility to our religion: For pure Paganisme and native Infidelity, like white cloth, will take the tincture of Christianity; whereas the Turks are soiled and stained with the irreligious religion of Mahometanisme, which first with much pains must be scoured out of them. And though they may seem to be in some forwardnesse to conversion, because they have a kind of knowledge and reverence of Christ, yet the best joynt of their belief must be broken before it can be well set, and every drop of their present religion pumped out before true faith be infused into them. And experience, the most competent witnesse herein, hath proved, That afterwards more Tartars, both private men and Princes, then Turks of either condition, have embraced Christianity. Enough at this time; we shall have occasion too soon to speak more of the Tartars.

Chap.

Anno Dom. 1232

Chap. 3.

The Greeks recover their Empire from the Latines; The Holy warre thereby much endamaged.

IT was conceived that it would be much beneficiall to the Pilgrimes in their voyages to Paleſtine, that the Latines were lately poſſeſſed of the Grecian Empire: For what is ſaved, is gained: And grant that the Latines in Greece ſhould not actually aſſiſt in the Holy warre, yet it was a conſiderable advantage what all juſtly expected, That Pilgrimes ſhould now have ſafe and ſecure paſſage through Grecia, the pitfall which formerly had devoured ſo many.

But theſe fair hopes ſoon miſcarried. For what through the celerity of Theodorus Laſcaris, and the gravity of John Ducas his ſonne in law, who reigned as Grecian Emperours in Nice, the Greeks recovered every foot of ground that the Latines had wonne from them: Onely the Venetians being good at holdfaſt, kept their portion when all others had ſpent theirs, and enjoy Candie to this day. This is imputed to their diſcretion in their choice, who in the ſharing of this Empire amongſt the Weſtern Princes, refuſed the continent countreys (though greater in extent, and richer in cities) and choſe rather the Iſlands, which being as little worlds in themſelves, were moſt capable of entire fortifications, eſpecially in their way, who were moſt powerfull at ſea.

Sixty yeares almoſt did the Latines make a hard ſhift to hold Conſtantinople, under five ſucceeding Emperours:
1203. 1. Baldwine the firſt, Earl of Flanders; 1205. 2. Henry his brother; 1216. 3. Peter, Count of Auxerre in France, Henrie's ſonne in law; 1221. 4. Robert; 1238. 5. Baldwine the ſecond, and laſt. An example which the obſervers of the ominous circulation or return of names alledge, That as a Baldwine was the firſt, ſo a Baldwine was the laſt Latine Emperour in Grecia.

Of theſe, the firſt Baldwine had his hands and feet cut off, and died in a ditch; Peter invited to a feaſt, payed the ſhot with his life; the other three died without any violence, but with much miſery. And thus their conqueſt of Grecia, like a little ſprig ſtuck into the ground, did ſprout at the firſt whileſt it had any ſap in it, but then withered for want of a root.

Indeed it was impoſſible long to continue: For when the generation of the primitive adventurers in this action were dead, there wanted another to ſucceed them; and the countreys

172 whence they came were so farre off that supplies of Latine people came thither very slowly: Onely Venice well peopled her parts from the vicinity of her dominions. And that number of souldiers which is sufficient by sudden conquest to overrunne a countrey, is incompetent without a second edition of new supplies, to make good, manage, and maintain it: especially being to meddle with the Greeks, farre exceeding them in number, subject onely out of fear, longing daily for their liberty and opportunity to recover it. *Anno Dom.* 1237

Let never any Pilgrimes hereafter make Greece their inne in their journey to Palestine. Yea, also at this time the furnace of the Grecian jealousie was made seven times hotter: For besides this Civil, an Ecclesiasticall and Spirituall breach happened betwixt them and the Latines; which we come now to describe.

Chap. 4.

The uncurable breach betwixt the Eastern and Western Churches, with the occasion thereof.

HItherto Grecians and Latines lived together in Palestine in some tolerable correspondencie; differing in judgement, but complying in affections; as counting themselves two severall sides, yet both making up the body of Christians. But now by an unhappy discord they were irreconcilably parted asunder, to the great advantage of the Turks and prejudice of the Holy warre. We will fetch this flame from the first spark; and though we go farre about, the length of the journey will be recompensed by the goodnesse of the way.

Anciently in the primitive time the Church of Rome was esteemed the first and chiefest of all others, but without any jurisdiction above them. Because that was the Imperiall citie and Queen of the world, therefore the Church therein was highest in account; as the candle which is in the fairest candlestick is alwayes set above the rest (though otherwise equall unto it in light) at the upper end of the table.

It happened afterward that the Emperour removed his seat from Rome to Constantinople: Whereupon orphane Rome suddenly decayed (for the Emperours court carried day with it, and left night behind it) was chief mourner at the funeralls of her own greatnesse; and from a pleasant garden turned a wilderneſse overgrown with Goths, Vandals, and other barbarous weeds: whilest Constantinople tricked and tired her self, start-

Anno Dom. 1237

ſtarted up in an inſtant great, rich, and ſtately; inſomuch that John her Patriarch claimed to be univerſall Biſhop above all other. Gregory the Great, Biſhop of Rome, ſtoutly withſtood him, proteſting that he was the uſher of Antichriſt who aſſumed that ſwelling title; wherein he heated the brand to mark his ſucceſſour with: For Boniface (ſave one, the next) Pope of Rome ſo dealt with Phocas the Emperour of Conſtantinople, that he got himſelf confirmed univerſall Biſhop over the whole world. A Chaplain and a Patrone well met, both uſurpers, ſupporting one another (like ſtones in an arch) with their reciprocall aid; Phocas held Boniface in his chair, and Boniface kept Phocas in his throne. And thus was the Pope of Rome firſt poſſeſſed of his Primacie both of dignity and authority, both of precedencie & of power and juriſdiction over all other Churches. As for his pretenſe, to challenge it by commiſſion from Chriſt and ſucceſſion from Peter, this ſtring to his bow is ſo full of gauls, frets, and knots, it cannot hold, and is broken by many learned Divines.

173

However, Conſtantinople rather overborn then overcome, for want rather of ſtrength then ſtomach, ever rebelled, or rather reſiſted (for no rebellion againſt uſurpation) Romes ſupremacie (eſpecially when ſhe found her ſelf befriended with any advantage) for many hundred yeares after.

It happened (to come to the matter in hand) that a Grecian * Archbiſhop went to Rome, there to have his confirmation. Where the Court demanded of him ſuch unreaſonable fees (toll more then the griſt) that the Prelate perceived it would weaken him to be confirmed, and ſhake his eſtate to ſettle him in his Biſhoprick. Home therefore he cometh with a loud alarm againſt the extortions of Rome, and muſtereth together many of his countrey-men; who hereupon for ever withdrew their obedience from Rome, and threw off that heavy yoke they could not bear, hereafter owning her for their ſiſter not mother.

* *Matth. Pariſ. in anno 1237. pag. 622.*

It may ſeem ſtrange that the Romane Court being here juſtly taxed for extortion, would not amend it. But how often ſoever ſhe be told of her dirty face, ſhe will never waſh it: For reforming would argue a former fault; and they feared, if they yeelded themſelves guilty in one point, it would ſhake the whole fabrick of their credit. Beſides, if the Grecians had received ſatisfaction and redreſſe in this grievance, it would have given them pretenſe to prepare more requeſts, and to think that they alſo were due. Laſtly, no ſtrength of perſwaſion will draw men from thoſe ſinnes which are glued unto them by their profit. Thus the avarice of the Romiſh officers (as of late the ſhamefull ſhameleſſe covetouſneſſe of their Indulgence-

174

mongers occasioned Luthers falling from them) caused the Grecians wholly to renounce their subjection to that See: and Germanus Patriarch of Constantinople now grew absolute of himself, without any dependencie on the Pope. *Anno Dom.* 1237

His Holinesse despairing to reduce them by fair means, proclaimed warre against them. And as formerly against the Albingenses, so now against the Grecians, resolved to send an army of * Croised souldiers: It being his custome to make the secular power little better then an hangman to execute those he shall please to condemn: Yea, he hath turned the back of the sword towards Infidels, and the edge against Christians dissenting from him in small matters. But few voluntaries were found for this service, because of a pious horrour and religious reluctancie against so odious an imployment: Onely in *Cyprus (I beleeve in a private persecution rather then open warre) some Grecians were put to death; the Pope using the same severity against wolves and wandring sheep, foes and prodigall children.

* *Matth. Paris. in anno 1237. pag. 622.*

* *Idem, pag. 614.*

Chap. 5.

Wherein the Greeks dissent from the Latines; What must charitably be conceived of them.

BEsides their rejecting of the Popes both Ecclesiasticall and Temporall tyranny, the Greeks differ from the Latines in other matters of moment: For they maintain the procession of the holy Spirit from the Father alone. As for their other tenents, they stand in some middle terms of opinion betwixt Papists and Protestants; yet so, that they approch nearer the Papists in more, to us in more weighty and dominative points. With Rome they concurre in Transubstantiation, in the whole sacrifice of the Masse, in praying to Saints and for the dead, in Auricular Confession, in worshipping of Pictures (onely of Christ and our Lady) but all Images they detest; a kind of Purgatory they hold, but not in hell or the skirts thereof, nor by any outward torment. With us they consent in the Sufficiency of the Scriptures to salvation, in denying the Infallibility of the Church (much more of the Pope) the overplus of Merits, Service ununderstood, Indulgences, Liberaties out of Purgatorie, and the like.

Sr Edw. Sand. Relig. of the west, pag. 233, & 234.

Hereupon the Romanists condemn them all for hereticks and castawayes, killing more then a third of all Christians (as Cain did a quarter of mankind with a blow) with this their uncharitable

Anno Dom. 1237

table cenſure. But heaven-gate was not ſo eaſily ſhut againſt multitudes when S. Peter himſelf wore the keyes at his girdle. And let us not with raſh judging thruſt all into the pit of hell whom we ſee walking neare the brink thereof. We ſhall think better of them if we conſider, That

Firſt, their tenets wherein they diſſent from the Romaniſts are ſound enough, ſave that of the holy Ghoſt. Concerning which it is an uſefull *quære*, Whether, granting the firſt authours and ringleaders of that errour in a bad condition, there be not ſome favour to be allowed to thoſe who in ſimplicity ſucceed to hereditary errours received from their anceſtours, if they do not wilfully barre nor bolt their eyes againſt the beams of the truth, but be willing (as we charitably conceive of the Greeks) to receive and embrace better inſtruction.

Secondly, the Maſter of the Sentences (waited on herein with other * learned men) is of opinion, That in the ſenſe of the Greek Church, *A Filio* and *Per Filium* is no reall difference, but a queſtion *in modo loquendi*. Sure it would have grated the foundation, if they had ſo denied the proceſſion of the holy Ghoſt from the Sonne as thereby to make an inequality betwixt the two Perſons: But ſince their form of ſpeech is, That the holy Ghoſt proceedeth from the Father by the Sonne, and is the Spirit of the Sonne, without making any difference in the conſubſtantiality of the Perſons, their doctrine may paſſe with a favourable interpretation.

* *Bonavent. 1. Sent. diſt. 11. art. 1. quæſt. 1. Scotus, 1. Sent. diſt. 1. quæſt. 1. Th. Aquin. part. 1. quæſt. 36. art. 2.*

Thirdly, our quickeſt ſight in the matters of the Trinity is but one degree above blindneſſe. Wherefore, as concerning it, let our piety lodge there where in other diſputes the deceit of ſophiſters uſed to neſtle it ſelf, namely, *in univerſalibus*, in large and generall expreſſions, and not deſcend to curious particulars. To ſearch into the manner of the Spirits proceſſion, is neither manners nor religion, and rather falleth under an awfull adoration and belief then an exact and curious enquirie.

Laſtly, this their tenet doth not infect any other point in Divinity with its poyſonous inferences. Some errours are worſe in their train then in themſelves, which (as the Dragon in the Revelation drew down a third part of the ſtarres with his tail) by their bad conſequences pervert other points of religion: But this Grecian opinion (as learned men propound it) concerning the holy Ghoſt, hath this happineſſe, that it is barren, and begetteth no other bad tenets from it, being entire in it ſelf.

More may be alledged for the leſſening of this errour: But grant it in its full extent, yet ſurely the moderate judgement of that learned * Divine whoſe memory ſmelleth like a *Field* the Lord hath bleſſed, will abide triall; who in effect thus concludeth, Their ſchiſmes are ſinfull, wicked, and inexcuſable; their doctrine

* *In his third book Of the Church, chap. 5.*

176

doctrine dangerous, but not so damnable as excluding from all possibilitie of salvation.

As for the observation of a * Schoolman, That afterwards the Turks wonne Constantinople on Whitsunday, the day dedicated to the memoriall of the holy Spirit, as if God herein pointed at the sinne of the Grecians in dishonouring the holy Ghost; we leave it to the readers discretion, desiring rather to be scepticall then definitive in the causes of Gods judgements.

Anno Dom. 1237

* *Estius, dist.* 11. §. 2.

Chap. 6.

A comparative estimate of the extent of the Greek and Latine Church; What hope of reconcilement betwixt them; The influence this breach had on the Holy warre.

IF that religion were surely the best which is of the greatest latitude and extent, Surveyers of land were fitter then Divines to judge of the best religion. Neither is it any matter of great moment to measure the greatnesse of either Church: But because Rome maketh her Universality such a masterpiece to boast of, let us see if the Greek Church may not outshoot her in her own bow.

If we begin with the Grecian Church in Africa under the Patriarch of Alexandria, thence proceeding into Asia, and fetch a compasse about Syria, Armenia, Asia the lesse, with Cyprus, Candie, and other Islands in the mid-land-sea, and so come into Grecia; if hence we go into Russia and Muscovia (who though differing in ceremonies, dissent not in doctrine; as a sundry dialect maketh not a severall language) to take onely entire Kingdomes, and omit parcels: it is a larger quantity of ground then that the Romish religion doth stretch to, since Luther cut so large a collop out of it, and withdrew North-Europe from obedience to his Holinesse.

Perchance the Romanists may plead they have lately improved the patrimony of their religion by new purchases in both Indies: But who knoweth not that those people, rather watered then baptized, affrighted with cruelty into Christianity, deserve not to be accounted settled and well-grounded professours of their religion?

As for reconciliation betwixt the Grecians and Latines, it is utterly improbable, except the Greeks submit to the Popes Primacie, which they will never do. No hope then of their meeting together, when neither party will stirre step towards other.

True

Anno Dom. 1237

True it is, some fourty yeares since (*anno* 1594) the Bishops of little Russia (a countrey following the Eastern Church, but under the King of Poland) on condition they would accept the Popes* supremacie, were dispensed with, and permitted in other matters to adhere to the Greek Church, and keep union with it; the Pope manifesting herein, that he aimeth not so much at the reduction of the Greeks to the truth as to his own obedience.

* *Possevin. in Apparatu sacro, in* Ruthe-ni. *See Brierwoods Enquiries, chap.* 18.

Besides the hatred they have against the Popes pride, another great hindrance of the union is the small intercourse the Eastern Christians have or desire to have with the Western. They live amongst the Turks, and are grown to be contented slaves; and having long since parted with their hopes, now almost have lost their desire of liberty.

We must not forget, how some fifty yeares ago solemn news was reported in Rome, that the * Patriarch of Alexandria, with all the Greek Church in Africa, by their Embassadours had submitted and reconciled themselves to the Pope, and from him received Absolution and Benediction: All which was a politick lie, perchance therefore reported, that it might make impression in the minds, and raise and confirm the spirits of the vulgar, who easily beleeve all that their betters tell them. And though afterwards this report was controlled to be false, yet mens spirits then being cold, were not so sensible of it as before: and the former news came to many mens eares who never heard afterwards of the check and confutation thereof. Nor is there any State in the world that maketh such use and advantage, as the Papall doth, of false news. To conclude; As it is a maxime in Philosophy, *Ex quibus constamus, ex iisdem nutrimur*: so a great part of their religion consisting of errours and falshoods, it is suitable that accordingly it should be kept up and maintained with forgeries and deceits.

* *Sr Edw. Sand. west. Relig. pag.* 100.

To return to Palestine; This rent (not in the seam but whole cloth) betwixt these Churches was no mean hindrance to the Holy warre. Formerly the Greeks in Syria were not so clearly cut asunder from the Latines, but that they hung together by one great sinew in the common cause, agreeing against the Turk the enemy to both: But since this last breach, the Greeks did in their desires propend and incline to the Turks, being better contented they should conquer, from whom they should have fair quarter, free exercise of their religion, and secure dwelling in any citie, paying a set tribute; then the Latines, who they feared would force their consciences, and bring their souls in subjection to the Popes supremacie. Expect we then never hereafter, that either their hearts or hands should afford any assistance to our Pilgrimes in their designes.

* Some conceive, that at this day if the Western Christians

* *Idem, pag.* 242.

178 should stoutly invade Turkie with any likelihood to prevail, the Greeks therein would runne to aid them. But others are of a contrary judgement; considering, First, the inveterate and inlaid hatred (not to be washed off) they bear the Latines: Secondly, the jealousie they have that they will never keep promise with them, who have alwayes a warrant dormant from the Pope to break all contracts prejudiciall to the Romish Church: Thirdly, that custome and long continuance in slavery have so hardened and brawned their shoulders, the yoke doth not wring them so much: yea, they had rather suffer the Turks, being old full flies, to suck them, then to hazard their galled backs to new hungry ones; finding by experience, That they themselves live on better terms of servitude under the Turk, lesse grated and grinded with exactions, then some of their countrey-men do under the Latines; for instance, in Zante and Candie under the Venetians. *Anno Dom.* 1237

Chap. 7.

Theobald King of Navarre maketh an unsuccessefull voyage into Palestine.

THe ten yeares truce by this time was expired which Frederick made with the Turks; and Reinold Vice-roy of Palestine by instructions from him concluded another truce of the *same term with them. He saw that this young Christian Kingdome of Jerusalem, like an infant, would thrive best with sleeping, with peace and quietnesse: Nor was it any policie for him to move at all, where there was more danger to hurt then hope to help their present estate. 1238

*Magdeburg. Cent. 13. cap. 16. Decennales inducias nuper denuò confirmârat.

But though this peace was honourable and profitable, having no fault but that Frederick made it; yet the Templars who did not relish the father, must needs distast the child: They complained that this peace was not used as a slumber to refresh the souldiers spirits, but as a lethargie to benumme their valour; and chiefly snarled at this indignity, That the Turks had accesse to the temple of the Sepulchre, and that Goats had free commonage in the Sheeps pasture. Wherefore Pope Gregory, to *despite the Emperour Frederick, caused the Dominicanes and Franciscanes his trumpeters, to incite people to the Holy warre. These were two twin-orders, but the Dominicane the eldest; which now were no sooner hatched in the world, but presently chirped in the pulpits. In that age Sermons were news, and meat for Princes not common men: Yea, the Albingenses with their

*Iidem, ibidem.

Anno Dom.

their preaching had drowned the voices of ſecular Prieſts, if theſe two Orders had not helped to out-noiſe thoſe ſuppoſed hereticks. Theſe amplified with their rhetorick the calamity of the Chriſtians, tyrannie of the Turks, merit of the cauſe, probability of ſucceſſe; performing their parts with ſuch gravity, ſhew of devotion, accents of paſſion, not glued on for the preſent purpoſe but ſo naturall as from true affection, that many were 1239 wooed to undertake the voyage: Principally, Theobald King of Navarre, Almerick Earl of Montfort, Henry of Champaigne, Peter Earl of Bretaigne, with many others of inferiour rank. 179

Ships they had none; wherefore they were fain to ſhape their paſſage by land through Grecia: where they were entertained with treachery, famine, and all the miſeries which wait on diſtreſſed armies. Theſe came laſt that way, & (I may ſay) ſhut the doore: For no Chriſtian army ever after went that tedious journey by land.

Having paſſed the Boſporus, they marched into Bithynia: thence through Galatia they came unto the mountain Taurus; where they were much damnified by the Turks, who fell on and off upon them, as they were adviſed by their own advantages. The Chriſtians deſired no other gift but that a ſet battel might be given them; which the Turks would not grant, but played at diſtance and would never cloſe. But with much ado the Chriſtians recovered to Antioch, having ſcarce a third part of them left, their horſes all dead, and themſelves ſcarce mounted on their legs, miſerably weak; as what the mercy of ſword, plague, and famine had pleaſed to ſpare.

Hence the Templars conducted them to Gaza; where they fell on forraging the countrey of the Sultan, aſſaulting no places which were of ſtrength, or honour to ſubdue, but onely ſpoiled poore villages, which counted themſelves walled with the truce as yet in force. Abundance of wealth they got, and were now late returning home, when after their plentifull ſupper a deare & ſharp reckoning was called for: Behold, the Turks in great numbers fell upon them neare unto Gaza; and the Chriſtians down with their bundles of ſpoil, and out with their ſwords, bravely defending themſelves till ſuch time as the night parted the fray. Here they committed a great errour, and (as one may ſay) a neglect in over-diligence: for in ſtead of repoſing themſelves to reſt, and appointing a ſet watch, they all lay in a manner *Perdues*, no one ſlumbering all night, but attending their enemies; contrary to the rules of an armie, which with Argus ſhould never have all its eyes wake or ſleep together. Next morning when the Turks, whoſe numbers were much increaſed, ſet upon them, alas! they being but few to many, faint to freſh, were not able to make any forcible reſiſtance: Yet,

180 what they could not pay in present, they pawned their lives for; and their arms being too weak for their hearts, they were rather killed then conquered. Earl Henry was slain, Almerick taken prisoner, the King of Navarre escaped by the swiftnesse of his Spanish gennet; which race, for their winged speed, the Poets feigned to be begot of the wind. *Anno Dom.* 1239

Mean time the other Christians looked on, and saw their brethren slaughtered before their eyes; and yet though they were able to help them, were not able to help them, their hands being tied with the truce, and Reinoldus charging them no way to infringe the peace concluded with the Sultan. Hereupon many cursed him as the Christians cut-throat; he as fast condemned the King of Navarre and his army for breaking the truce. And though the Papall faction pleaded that the former peace concluded not these late adventurers, and that it was onely made with Frederick the Emperour; yet he representing the whole body of Christianity, all the bundle of their shifts could not piece out a satisfactory answer, but that they were guilty of faith-breaking.

Home hastened the King of Navarre with a small retinue, clouding himself in privateness; as that actour who cometh off with the dislike of the spectatours, stealeth as invisibly as he may into the tiring-house. Expectation, that friendly foe, did him much wrong; and his performance fell the lower, because men heightened their looking for great matters from him.

Chap. 8.

Richard Earl of Cornwall saileth to the Holy land; His performance there, and the censure thereof.

* *Matth. Paris, pag. 670.* * FIfteen dayes after the departure of Theobald, Richard Earl of Cornwall, brother to Henry the third then King of England, landed at Ptolemais. This Prince was our English Crassus, or Crœsus; Cornwall was his Indies, where he turned tinne into gold and silver. So well-moneyed he was, that for ten yeares together he might for every day expend an *hundred marks: So that England never since had together a poorer King and a richer Subject. 1240 *Octo.* 11.

* *Camden, in Cornwall.*

Before he began his voyage he craved a subsidie of prayers from the Monks of S. Albanes: Yea, scarce was there any Covent appearing for piety, to whose devotions he recommended not

Anno Dom. 1240

not himself; counting that ship to sail the surest which is driven with the breath of godly mens prayers. Theodoricus Lord Prior of the English Hospitallers, with many other Barons and brave souldiers attending him, passed through France, and was there honourably entertained by King Lewis.

Being come to the Mediterranean sea, the Popes Legate brought him a flat countermand, that he must go no further, but instantly return. Richard at first was astonished hereat: but quickly his anger got the mastery of his amazement, and he fell on fuming; * Was this Christs Vicar? Unlike was he to him, who was thus unlike to himself, who would say and unsay, solemnly summon, then suddenly cashier his Holy souldiers. This was deluding of peoples devotions with false alarms, to make them put their armour on to put it off again. As for his own self, he had vowed this voyage, his honour and treasure was ingaged therein, and the Pope should not blast his settled resolutions with a breath: his ships were manned, victualled, and sailing forward; and in such great actions the setting forth is more then half the journey.

* *Matth. Paris. in Hen. 3. pag. 719.*

All know his Holinesse to be too wary an archer to shoot away his arrows at nothing. He had a mark herein, a plot in this restraint, but that too deep for others to fathom. It could not be this, To make this rich Earl (a fish worth angling for) to commute his voyage into money, and to buy a dispensation of his Holinesse to stay at home, as formerly he had served many meaner Pilgrimes. Surely though the Popes covetousnesse might have prompted, his wisdome would have disswaded him from a project spunne with so course a threed.

On saileth Earl Richard, and safely arriveth at Ptolemais; where he is well welcomed, especially by the Clergie, solemnly singing, * *Blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord.* He proclaimed, No Christian should depart for want of pay; for he would entertain any, and give them good wages that would do work in this warre. But he found the Christians there shivered into severall factions, and the two great Orders, Hospitallers and Templars, two great confusions of the Holy cause. Of these the Hospitallers were the seniors in standing, their originall being dated eighteen yeares before the Templars; and therefore challenged superiority. But that which made the younger brother so brisk, was, that he was his fathers darling. The Templars in all their broils had support from the Pope, because the others were suspected to have a smack of the Imperiall faction. This made them active, daring, offering of affronts: And what countrey-men soever the Templars were, they were alwayes Italians, that is, true to the Triple Crown. These being madded with ambition, were the more outragious for their high fare

* *Idem, pag. 729.*

182 (their great revenues) and deserved to be dieted with a poorer pittance, except they would have used their strength better. Our Earl knew, to please one side would certainly displease the other, and to please both would probably please neither. Wherefore he managed his matters entirely to himself, without relating to either of the parties, taking no ground of their giving, but bowling at the publick good by the aim of his own eye. *Anno Dom.* 1240

The Sultans in Syria (for the Turkish power there was divided into severall Sultanies, as those of Damascus, *Cracci, Seisser, but Babylon the chiefest) hearing of Richards preparations, profered peace unto him. But whilest as yet the conditions were in suspense, Richard fortified Askelon (in all the bunch there was not a better key, or harbour of more importance) not onely to strength but state, with marble pillars and statues; though the silent ruines thereof at this day confesse not to the beholders that any such cost was ever bestowed there. He also caused the corpses of the Christians killed at the late battel at Gaza, and hitherto unburied, decently to be interred; and appointed an annuall salarie to a Priest to pray for their souls. Hereby he had the happinesse with little cost to purchase much credit; and the living being much taken with kindnesse to the dead, this burying of those Christians, with pious persons wonne him as much repute as if he killed so many Turks.

*Called anciently Arabia Petræa, *Tyrius, lib.* 21. *cap.* 5.

At last the truce for ten yeares was concluded with the Sultan; all Christian captives were discharged and set free, many forts of them restored, and matters for the main reduced to the same estate they were at the first peace with Frederick the Emperour: and Richard returning through Sicily and by Rome, where he visited his Holinesse, safely came home to England: Where he was welcomed with bad news, that a discontented Cornish man, banished for his misdemeanours, had found out tinne-mines in *Bohemia; which afterwards more asswaged the swelling of this Earls bags then all his voyage to Palestine: For till that time that metall was onely fetched from England, which afforded meat to some forrein countreys, and dishes to all. 1241

Matth. Paris, pag. 765.

His voyage was variously censured: The Templars which consented not to the peace, flouted thereat, as if all this while he had laboured about a difficult nothing, and as good never a whit as never the better, for the agreement would never hold long. Others thought he had abundantly satisfied any rationall expectation: For he *compelled, saith one, the Saracens to truce, (a strange compulsion without violence, except the shewing of a scabbard) he restored many to the life of their life, their liberty; which alone was worth all his pains; the peace he concluded

*Camden, in Cornwall.

Anno Dom. 1241

cluded was honourable; and a cheap Olive-branch is better then deare Bayes. 183

Two of our Englisſh Richards were at Paleſtine; one famous for drawing his ſword, the other his purſe. He was alſo remarkable herein, that he brought all his men and ſhips ſafe home (next of kin to a miracle) and none will deny, but that in ſuch dangerous adventures a ſaver is a gainer. One good he got hereby, This journey brought him into play amongſt forrein Princes; henceforward the beyond-ſea-world took notice of him, and he of it. Never would he have had the face to have courted the Crown Imperiall, if theſe his travels had not put boldneſſe and audacity into him, which made him afterwards a ſtiff rivall to bid for the Empire of Germany.

Chap. 9.

The Coraſines cruelly ſack the city of Jeruſalem, and kill the Chriſtians therein.

ABout this time (though we find not the punctuall date thereof) happened the death of Reinoldus Fredericks Lieutenant in Syria, who by his moderation had been a good benefactour to the Holy warre. But the Templars counted him to want metall, becauſe he would not be mad and cauſeleſly break the truce with the Sultan. In his grave was buried the happineſſe of the Chriſtians in Paleſtine: for now the lawleſſe Templars obſerve no other rule but their own will.

And now the inundation of the Tartarians in ſpite of all dammes and banks overranne the North of Aſia, and many nations fled from their own countreys for fear of them. Amongſt other the Coraſines (called by ſome Choermines, and Groiſſoms) a fierce and warlike people, were notwithſtanding by the Tartarians forced to forſake their land.

Being thus unkennelled, they had their recourſe to the Sultan of Babylon, and petitioned him to beſtow ſome habitation upon them. Their ſuit he could neither ſafely grant nor deny: A deniall would egge their diſcontents into deſperateneſſe; and ſuch ſturdy dangerous vagabonds might do much harm: to admit them to be joynt-tenants in the ſame countrey with the Turks, was a preſent inconvenience, and would be a future miſchief. In ſtead therefore of giving them a houſe, he ſent them to a work-houſe; yet ſo, that they apprehended it a great courteſie done unto them: For he beſtowed on them all the lands which the Chriſtians held in Paleſtine; liberall to give away what

Matth. Paris, pag. 851.

184 what was none of his, and what the others must purchase before they could enjoy. The Sultan encouraged them to invade that countrey; whose people he pretended were weak and few, the land wealthy and fruitfull, so that the conquest would be easie, especially they having his assistance in the present service, and perpetuall patronage hereafter. *Anno Dom.*

Animated herewith in come the Corasines with their wives and children (bringing their households with them to win houses and lands for them) into Syria, and march directly to Jerusalem; which being a weak and unfortified place, was taken without resistance. Weak and unfortified! Strange! It is confessed on all sides, that Frederick the Emperour and Reinoldus his Lieutenant spared no expense in strengthening this city; since which time we find no solemn taking it by the Turks: Who then can expect lesse then an impregnable place, where so much cost was sown? Which driveth us to conceive one of these three things; Either that the weakness of this citie was chiefly in the defenders hearts; Or else that formerly there happened some blind and silent dispoiling of this place not mentioned by Authours; Or lastly, that Jerusalem was a Jericho, I mean, a place cursed in building; like Pharaohs lean kine, never a whit the fatter for devouring much meat; and which still went in rags, though her friends bestowed change of raiment upon her. 1244

Thus this city, after that it had been possessed fifteen yeares by the Christians, was wonne by this barbarous people, never since regained to our religion. Sleep, Jerusalem, sleep in thy ruines, at this day of little beauty and lesse strength, famous onely for what thou hast been.

The Christians flying out of Jerusalem with their families, took their course towards Joppa; but looking back, beheld their own ensignes advanced on the citie-walls, so done in policie by their enemies. Whereupon their credulity thus commented, That their fellows had beaten the Corasines in Jerusalem, and by these * banners invited them to return: But going back, they found but cold (or rather too hot) entertainment, being slain every mothers child of them. Dull nostrils! not to sent so stale and rank a stratageme of their foes, so often used, so easily defeated; not to send some spies to tast the bait before all swallowed it. But men marked out for destruction, will runne their own heads into the halter.

* *Matth. Paris, pag. 835.*

Chap.

Anno Dom. 1244

Chap. 10.

Robert Patriarch of Jeruſalem, with the whole ſtrength of the Chriſtians, conquered by the Coraſines.

THe deſperateneſſe of the diſeaſe priviledgeth the taking of any Phyſick. The Chriſtians being now in deep diſtreſſe, reſolved on a dangerous courſe, but (as their caſe ſtood) thought neceſſary: For they made peace with the Sultan of Damaſcus and Seiſſer, and with the Sultan of Cracci; (Theſe were Dynaſtes in Syria of ſome good ſtrength, and were at diſcord with the Sultan of Babylon) and ſwearing them to be faithfull, borrowed an armie of their forces, with them joyntly to reſiſt the Coraſines; ſeeking, ſaith * Frederick the Emperour, to find *fidem in perfidia*, truſt in treachery. Many ſuſpected theſe auxiliary forces; thinking, though the forreſt-wolves fell out with the mountain ones, they would both agree againſt the ſheep.

* *In his letter to Richard of Cornwall.*

Robert Patriarch of Jeruſalem was a moſt active commander over all. S. Lukes day was the time agreed upon for the fatall battel; neare Tiberias was the place. As the Chriſtians were ordering themſelves in aray, it was queſtioned in what part of their armie their new Turkiſh aſſiſtants ſhould be diſpoſed, and concluded that they ſhould be placed in the front, where if they did no other good, they would dull the appetite of their enemies ſword. This is thought to have been a notorious errour, and cauſe of their overthrow. For though thoſe ſouldiers who mean to be falſe, will never be made faithfull in what place ſoever they be beſtowed, yet may they be made leſſe dangerous if caſt into the body or main battel of the army, whence they have no ſuch ſcope to fling out, and to take advantage of place to do miſchief, as they have either in the front or wings thereof. Thus in Ceſars time, Craſſus an experienced Generall under him being to bid the Gauls battel, * *auxiliares copias, quibus ad pugnam non multum confidebat, in mediam aciem collocavit*; that ſo being hemmed in before and behind, they might be ingaged to fight manfully without ſtarting away. And to inſtance in later times; our Richard the third (who though he uſurped the Crown, had, as none will deny, a true title both to proweſſe and martiall policie) marching to Boſworth, placed * ſuſpected perſons (whoſe bodies were with him and hearts with Earl Henry) in the midſt; and thoſe whom he moſt truſted, before, behind, and on every ſide.

* *Cæſ. lib. 3. De bello Gallico.*

* *Graft. in Rich. 3. fol. 102.*

The battel being joyned, the * Turks ranne over to the other

* *Matth. Paris, pag. 834.*

186 ſide; though ſome braved them onely with cowardlineſſe not treachery, and that they fled from the battel but not fell to the enemies. The Chriſtians manfully ſtood to it, and though over-powerd in number, made a great ſlaughter of their enemies, till at laſt they were quite overthrown. Of the Teutonick Order eſcaped but three; of three hundred Templars, but eighteen; of two hundred Hoſpitallers, but nineteen: The Patriarch (to uſe his own words) whom God reputed unworthy of martyrdome, ſaved himſelf by flight, with a few others. And this great overthrow, to omit leſſe partner-cauſes, is chiefly imputed to the Templars former ſo often breaking the truce with the Sultan of Babylon. *Anno Dom.* 1244

Thus were the Chriſtians conquered by the Coraſines, and beaten by a beaten nation; Paleſtine being wonne by thoſe who could not keep their own countrey. Improving this victorie they left nothing to the Chriſtians but Tyre, Ptolemais, and Antioch, with ſome few forts. Soon after, theſe Coraſines elated herewith fell out with the Sultan himſelf; who in anger rooted out their nation, ſo that * none of their name remained: Yea, * all writers are ſilent of them both before this time and ever after: as if God at this very inſtant had created this people to puniſh Chriſtians; which ſervice performed, they were annihilated again.

* *Matth. Paris, pag. 475.*
* *Except any make them to be* Choraſmii, *a people placed by Athenæus in the Eaſt of Parthia.*

Chap. 11.

Lewis the ninth ſetteth forward againſt the Turks; The occaſion of his journey, and his attendants.

SOme two yeares after, Lewis the ninth of that name, King of France, came to aſſiſt the Chriſtians. The occaſion of his voyage, this; He had been viſited with a deſperate ſickneſſe, inſomuch that all art cried craven, as unable to help him; and the Phyſicians reſigned him to Divines, to begin with him where they ended: They alſo gave him over; and for a while he lay in a trance, not the leaſt breath brought news of any life left in him. Then Blanch the Queen-mother (and Queen of mothers for her care of her ſonne and his Kingdome) * applied a piece of the Croſſe unto him. Thereat (whether thereby, let others diſpute) he revived and recovered; and thereupon was Croiſed, and in thankfulneſſe bound himſelf with a vow to ſail to the Holy land. But his Nobility diſſwaded him from that deſigne: The dangers were certain, the ſucceſſe would be doubtfull of ſo long a journey; his own Kingdome would be left deſolate, 1245

* *Matth. Paris, pag. 880. Et P. Æmyl. in D. Ludov. pag. 214.*

Anno Dom. 1245

187

ſolate, and many miſchiefs unſeen as yet, would appear in his abſence: Beſides, his vow was made in his ſickneſſe, whileſt reaſon was ſcarce as yet in the peaceable poſſeſſion of his mind, becauſe of the remnant-dregs of his diſeaſe: It might alſo be diſpenſed with by the Pope; yea, his deſerts did challenge ſo much from his Holineſſe. King Lewis, as perſwaded hereat, laid down the Croſſe to the great comfort and contentment of all the beholders: But then * altering his countenance, he required the Croſſe ſhould be reſtored to him again, and vowed to eat no bread untill he was recognized with the Pilgrimes badge. And becauſe his vow ſhould ſuffer no diminution or abatement from his diſeaſe, now no longer Lewis the ſick, but Lewis the ſound undertook the Holy warre. His Nobles ſeeing him too ſtiff to be unbent, and counting it a kind of ſacrilegious counſel to diſſwade him from ſo pious a work, left him to his own reſolutions. There went along with him his two brothers, Charles Earl of Anjou, Robert Earl of Artois, his own Queen, and their Ladies, Odo the Popes Legate, Hugh Duke of Burgundie, William Earl of Flanders, Hugh Earl of S^t^-Paul, and William Longſpath Earl of Sarisbury with a band of valiant Engliſh men, who went without licence from Henry King of England: For in thoſe dayes this doctrine went currant, That their Princes leave was rather of complement then eſſentiall to their voyage; as if the band of this Holy warre was an acquittance from all others. Our Henry diſpleaſed at this Earls departure, for his diſobedience deprived him of his Earldome and caſtle of Sarisbury, not ſuffering that ſheep to graſe in his paſture which would not own him for his ſhepherd. William alſo ſonne to this * Earl, ſmarting for his fathers fault, never enjoyed that honour. And though King Henry himſelf being a Prince of more devotion then policie, did moſt affectionately tender this Holy cauſe, yet he uſed this neceſſary ſeverity towards this Earl at this time; firſt, becauſe it would weaken his land thus to be diſpeopled of martiall men, ſecondly, his ſubjects forwardneſſe might be interpreted a ſecret check of his own backwardneſſe in that warre; thirdly, the ſucking in of forrein aire did wean people from their naturall Prince, and did inſenſibly uſher into their hearts an alienation from their own Sovereigne, and a dependence on the King of France; laſtly, he had ſome thoughts on that voyage himſelf, and reſerved ſuch prime Peers to attend on his own perſon thither.

* *Fox, Martyrolog. pag. 293.*

* *Camden, in Wiltſhire.*

1246 The Pope gave to this King Lewis his charges, the tenth of the Clergies revenues through France for three yeares; and the King imployed the Popes collectours to gather it, knowing thoſe leaches were the beſt ſuckers. Hereupon the ſtates of the Clergie were ſhaved as bare as their crowns; and a poore Prieſt who had

188

had but twenty shillings annuall pension, was forced to pay two yearly to the King: And this by my * Authour is made the cause of his following ill successe, there being much extortion used by his under-officers. No wonder then if the wings of that armie did quickly flag, having so heavy a weight of curses hanging upon them. And though money be the sinews of warre, yet ill-gotten money, like gouty sinews, rather paineth then strengtheneth. True it is, that this pious King was no way guilty thereof, but such as were under him; and oftentimes the head doth ach for the ill vapours of the stomach. He himself most princely caused to be proclaimed through his realm, If any merchant or other had been at any time injured by the Kings exactours, either by oppression or borrowing of money, let him bring forth his bill, shewing how and wherein, and he should be recompensed. How this was performed we find not; but it was a good lenitive plaister to asswage the peoples pain for the present.

Anno Dom. 1246

* *Matth. Paris. in anno 1246. pag. 943.*

Fox, Martyrolog. pag. 292.

Having at Lyons took his leave of the Pope, and a blessing from him, he marched towards Avignon: Where some of the city wronged his souldiers, especially with foul language. Wherefore his Nobles desired him that he would besiege the citie, the rather becaus it was suspected that therein his father was poysoned. To whom Lewis most Christianly, I come not out of France to * revenge my own quarrels, or those of my father or mother, but injuries offered to Jesus Christ. Hence he went without delay to his navie, and committed himself to the sea.

1248 *Aug.* 25.

* *Matth. Paris. pag. 995.*

Chap. 12.

Lewis arriveth in Cyprus; The conversion of the Tartarians hindred; The treachery of the Templars.

SAiling forward with a prosperous wind, he safely arrived in Cyprus; where Alexius Lusignan King of the Island entertained him according to the stateliest hospitality. Here the pestilence (one of the ready attendants on great armies) began to rage: And though a French * writer saith it was *minax magis quàm funesta*, yet we find in others, that two hundred and fourty Gentlemen of note died by force of the infection.

Sept. 20.

* *P. Æmyl. in Ludov. 9. pag. 215.*

Hither came the Embassadours from a great Tartarian Prince (but surely not from Cham himself) invited by the fame of King Lewis his piety, professing to him, That he had renounced his

Anno Dom.

his Paganiſme, and embraced Chriſtianity; and that he intended to ſend meſſengers to Pope Innocent to be further inſtructed in his religion. But ſome Chriſtians which were in Tartary diſſwaded him from ſo doing, leſt the Tartarians coming to Rome ſhould behold the diſſoluteneſſe of mens lives there, and ſo refuſe to ſuck the milk of ſweet doctrine from ſo ſowre and bitter nipples, beſmeared about with bad and ſcandalous converſation. Yea, never could the Chriſtian religion be ſhewed to * Pagans at any time on more diſadvantages: Grecians and Latines were at deadly feud; amongſt the Latines, Guelfes and Gibellines ſought to ruine each other: Humility was every-where preached, and pride practiſed: They perſwaded others to labour for heaven, and fell out about earth themſelves: Their lives were contrary to their doctrines, and their doctrines one to another. 189

* *P. Æmyl. ut priùs.*

1249 But as for theſe Embaſſadours, King Lewis received them very courteouſly, diſmiſſing them with bounteous gifts. And by them he ſent to their maſter a Tent, wherein the hiſtory of the Bible was as richly as curiouſly depicted in needle-work; hoping thus to catch his ſoul in his eyes, and both in that glorious preſent: Pictures being then accounted lay-mens books, though ſince of many condemned as full of *errata's*, and never ſet forth by authority from the King of heaven to be means or workers of faith.

1248 *Aug.* 25.

Whileſt Lewis ſtayed in Cyprus, the Templars in the Holy land began to have his greatneſſe in ſuſpicion. This Order (as both the other, of Hoſpitallers and Teutonicks) though mown down to the bare roots at the laſt unfortunate battel, yet now in three yeares ſpace ſprung up as populous as ever before; their other brethren which lived in their ſeverall Covents and Commandries over all Europe, having now refurniſhed the houſes in Paleſtine.

Now theſe Templars were loth King Lewis ſhould come to Ptolemais, though they counterfeited he ſhould be very welcome there. They formerly there had commanded in chief without controll, and were unwilling, having long ſat in the ſaddle, now to diſmount and hold the ſtirrup to another. Beſides, they would not have ſo neat and cleanly a gueſt ſee their ſluttiſh houſes, fearing Lewis his piety would ſhame their diſſoluteneſſe (being one ſo godly in his converſation, that by the preaching in his life he had converted many * Saracens) yea, perchance he being a ſtrict Diſciplinarian would puniſh their vitious manners. Wherefore they wrote to him out of Syria, to accept of a peace with the Sultan of Egypt now offered, and to proceed no further in warre againſt him.

Sept. 20.

* *P. Æmyl. pag. 216.*

The French King, whoſe heart was ever open to any fair agree-

190

agreement, and shut against any dishonourable suspicions, had entertained the motion, had not the King of Cyprus, being more studied in the Templars treacheries, better instructed him: For he told him, this was but a * trick of their great Master, who under-hand had sent to the Sultan, and procured him to profer this peace onely for their own private ends, for to divert the King from coming amongst them. Lewis, though the mildest and most patient of Princes, yet not a drone which wanted the sting of anger, commanded the Master of the Templars upon the price of his head thenceforward to receive no Embassage, nor keep any intelligence with their enemy, and resolved with himself to invade Egypt.

Anno Dom. 1249

* *Knolls, Turk. hist. pag.* 102.

Chap. 13.

The wise preparations of the Egyptians; The valour of the French at their landing; Damiata wonne.

BUt he stood so long in aiming, that the bird saw him, and had leisure to flie away, and Meladine the Egyptian King to provide himself to make resistance. Last time (some thirty yeares before) whē the Christians under John Bren invaded Egypt, they were not impeached in their arrivall, but suffered to land without any opposition. But Meladine now was sensible of the discommodity in permitting his foes safely to come on shore: For first, they wasted & spoiled the countrey & the provision about them: Secondly, opportunity was given to male-contents and ill-disposed persons to flie to the enemie: Lastly, he found it most policie to keep the enemy off at arms end, and to close at the last; and not to adventure his Kingdome on the single die of a battel, but rather to set it on a chance, that so he might have the more play for it. Wherefore he resolved to strengthen his maritime places, and not suffer them to land; though also herein he met with many difficulties. For as nothing was more certain then that Lewis would set on Egypt, so nothing more uncertain; and becaus it was unknown at what time or place he would come, all times and places were provided for. This exhausted a masse of treasure to keep in pay so many souldiers for many moneths together. But it is no time to dispute about unnecessary thrift, when a whole Kingdome is brought into question to be subdued.

And becaus the landing-places in Egypt are of great disadvantage

Anno Dom. 1249

vantage to the defendants, yeelding them no shelter from the fury of their enemies artillery, being all open places and plain (the shores there being not shod against the sea with huge high rocks, as they are in some other countreys, becaufe the land is low and level) Meladine was forced to fortifie welnigh an hundred and eighty miles along the sea-side; and what Nature had left bare, Art put the more clothes on; and by using of great industry (such as by Tully is fitly termed *horribilis industria*) in short space all that part of Egypt was fenced which respecteth the sea.

Winter being past, Robert Duke of Burgundie and Alphonse King Lewis his brother arrived in Cyprus with a new armie; and hereupon they concluded to set forward for Egypt, and attempted to land neare Damiata. But the governour thereof with a band of valiant souldiers stoutly resisted them. Here was a

June 4. doubtfull fight: The Egyptians standing on the firm ground, were thereby enabled to improve and *inforce their darts to the utmost, whilest the French in their tickliſh boats durst not make the best of their own strength. Besides, those on land threw their weapons downwards from the forts they had erected, so that the declivity and downfall did naturally second the violent impression of their darts. How-ever, the Infidels at last were here beaten with what commonly was their own weapon, I mean multitude; so that they fled into the town, leaving behind them

5. their governour and five hundred of their best souldiers dead on the shore.

*P. Æmyl. pag. 216.

Damiata was a strong city, the taking whereof was accounted the good task of an armie for a yeare. But now the Egyptians within were presented afresh with the memory of the miseries they indured in the last long siege by the Christians; and fearing lest that tragedy should be acted over again, set fire on their houses, and in the night saved themselves by flight. The French

9. issuing in quenched the fire, and rescued much corn and other rich spoil from the teeth of the flame.

Meladine much troubled with this losse, to purchase peace * offered the Christians all Jerusalem in as ample a manner as ever formerly they had enjoyed it; all prisoners to be restored, with a great summe of money to defray their charges, and many other good conditions: So that we may much wonder at his profuseneſſe in these profers, and more at the Christians indiscretion in their refusall. For though some advised to make much of so frank a chapman, and not through covetousneſſe to outstand their market; yet the Popes Legate and Robert Earl of Artois, heightened with pride that they could not see their profit, and measuring their future victories by the largeneſſe of their first footing in Egypt, would make no bargain except Alexandria the best port in Egypt were also cast in for vantage, to make

*Matth. Paris, pag. 1047.

Knolls, Turk. Hist.

192 make the conditions down-weight: And King Lewis, whoſe nature was onely bad becauſe it was ſo good, would in no wiſe croſſe his brother in what he deſired. Whereupon the Turks ſeeing themſelves in ſo deſperate condition, their ſwords being ſharpened on extremity, provided to defend their countrey to the utmoſt. *Anno Dom.* 1249

Chap. 14.

Diſcords betwixt the French and Engliſh; The death & diſpoſition of Meladine King of Egypt.

ABout this time brake out the diſſenſions betwixt the French and Engliſh. The cauſe whereof (as ſome ſay) was, for that the Earl of Sarisbury in ſacking a fort got more ſpoil then the French. But ſurely the foundation of their diſcontents lay much lower, being an old enmity betwixt the two nations; and Robert Earl of Artois uſed Earl William and his men with much diſcourteſie.

This Robert ſtood much on the Royaltie of his deſcent, being brother to King Lewis, though nothing of kin in conditions, being as bountifull to deal injuries and affronts as the other alms and charitable deeds. The Engliſh Earl, though he ſtood on the lower ground in point of birth, yet conceived himſelf to even him in valour and martiall knowledge. And though godly King Lewis uſed all his holy-water to quench theſe heart-burnings, his ſucceſſe anſwered not his pains, much leſſe his deſires; onely his cooling perſwaſions laid their enmities for the preſent fairly aſleep.

Amidſt theſe broils died Meladine the Egyptian King. A worthy Prince he was; though ſome write very courſely of him: as he muſt riſe early, yea, not at all go to bed, who will have every ones good word. Let Chriſtians ſpeak of him as they found: whoſe courteſies to them when they were half-drowned in Egypt, if they will not confeſſe, they deſerve to be wholly drowned for their ingratitude. In the latter end of his age he quite loſt the good will of his ſubjects, and lived unloved, and died unlamented, though a deſerving and fortunate man, which oftentimes covereth a multitude of faults. The chief reaſon whereof was, becauſe they ſuſpected him to be unſound in his religion, and offering to Chriſtianity: Beſides, having reigned above thirty yeares, his government became ſtale; and good things, if of long continuance, grow tedious, they being rather affected for their variety then true worth: Laſtly, the riſing ſunne

Anno Dom. 1249

sunne stole the adorers from the sunne setting; and Melechsala his sonne being an active and promising Prince, reigned before in mens desires over the Kingdome. To him now they all applied themselves; and having more wisdome in their generation then the Christians, instantly ceased their private dissensions. And now the Sultans of Damascus, Aleppo, and Babylon twisted themselves in a joynt agreement with Melechsala to defend their Mahometane religion. 193

Chap. 15.

Robert Earl of Artois fighting with the Egyptians contrary to the counsel of the Master of the Templars, is overthrown and drowned.

1250 FRom Damiata the French marched up towards Cairo; the governour whereof offended with Melechsala, promised to deliver that regall citie to the French. With some danger and more difficulty they passed an arm of Nilus, being conducted by a fugitive Saracen to a place where it was foordable. Hence Earl Robert marched forward with a third part of the army, and suddenly assaulting the Turks in their tents (whilest Melechsala was absent in solemnizing a feast) put them to flight. Hereupon this Earl proclaimed himself in his hopes Monarch of the world: This blow made his enemies reel, the next would fell them: Now speed was more needfull then strength: This late victory, though gotten, was lost if not used: What though they were not many? the fewer the adventurers, the greater the gain: Let them therefore forwards, and set on the whole power of the Turks, which was incamped not farre off.

But the Master of the Templars, in whom the sap of youth was well dried up, advised the Earl to stay and digest the honour he had gotten, expecting the arrivall of the rest of their armie: for the work was weighty they undertook, and needed two shoulders, the united strength of the Christians, effectually to manage it: His souldiers were weary, and must be refreshed; and it was madnesse to starve them to day in hope of a feast to morrow: That they were to march through a strange countrey, and their best instructours were behind: let them stay for their lantern, and not go in the dark. He minded him that he overvalued his victory, not considering the enemies strength, whose harvest was not spoiled by losing an handfull of men. *Matth. Paris. pag. 1049.*

But the Earl, full of the emptinesse of self-conceit, allowed

194

Anno Dom. 1250

no counsel for currant but that of his own stamp. He scorned to wait the leisure of another opportunity, and opprobriously objected to the * Templars the common fame, That the Holy land long since had been wonne, but for the collusion of the false Templars and Hospitallers with the Infidels.

* *Matth. Paris pag. 1050.*

Here the Earl of Sarisbury interposed himself to make peace, and to perswade Robert to listen to the wholesome counsel that was given him. But his good will was rewarded with Coward, Dastard, English-tail, and such like contumelious terms. Wherefore said our Earl, Well, Generall, on in Gods name; * I beleeve this day you shall not dare to come nigh my horses tail. And now the touchstone must tell what is gold, what is brasse.

* Erimus (credo) hodie, ubi non audebis caudam equi mei attingere, *Idem ibid.*

Marching on, they assaulted the castle of Mauzar, and were notably repulsed; and Melechsala coming in with his whole strength, hemmed them in on every side. The Christians were but the third part of the armie; and at the present, they themselves were scarce the half of themselves, being faint for want of refreshing. Yet never shall one reade more valour in so little a volume: They played their parts most stoutly. As for the French Earl who went on like thunder, he went out like smoke, crying to the Earl of Sarisbury, Flee, flee, for God fighteth against us. To whom our Earl, God forbid my fathers sonne should flee from the face of a Saracen. The other seeking to save himself by the swiftnesse of his horse, and crossing the river, had there water enough to drown him, but too little to wash from him the stain of rashnesse and cowardise. Thus died the Earl of Artois: who had in him the parts of a good Generall, but inverted and in transposition, bold in counsel, fearfull in execution. He was one of that princely quaternion of brothers which came hither at this voyage, and exceeded each other in some quality; Lewis the Holiest, Alphonse the Subtilleſt, Charles the Stoutest, and this Robert the Proudest.

As for the Earl of Sarisbury, he resolved to sell his life at such a rate that the buyer should little boast of his peny-worth, slaying many a Turk; and though unhorsed and wounded in his legs, stood on his honour when he could not stand on his feet; and refusing all quarter, upon his knees laid about him like a desperate man. The longer he fought, the fewer wounds he had; and there at last he breathed forth his soul in the midst of his enemies. Of all the Christians there escaped no more then two Templars, one Hospitaller, and one common souldier, the messengers of this heavy news.

The French writers, because they can say little good, say little of this battel, and lessen the overthrow as much as may be; which Authours of other nations have more fully reported.

Thus

Anno Dom. 1250

Thus ſometimes unfortunate gameſters flatter themſelves, belie their own purſes, and diſſemble their loſſes, whereof the ſtanders by take more accurate notice. P. Æmylius (an Italian, born at Verona; but by long writing the French hiſtory his penne is made free deniſon of France) though with his hand he doth hide the orifice of the wound, yet it is too narrow to cover the whole ſore round about : So that it plainly appeareth, that a great and grievous and moſt mortall blow was here given to the Chriſtians.

Chap. 16.

King Lewis almoſt in the ſame place hath the ſame wofull ſucceſſe, conquered and taken captive by Melechſala.

IT is eaſier to be conceived then expreſſed, what generall grief this dolefull news brought to the French; who followed not farre off, and who before had cauſe enough to ſorrow for themſelves: For the plague began to rage furiouſly amongſt them, and daily ſwept away thouſands. Mean time good King Lewis ſent many of the weakeſt and impotenteſt people down the river to Damiata, there to enjoy the benefit of privacie, good attendance, and phyſick. Melechſala having intelligence hereof, met them by the way; and ſetting upon them (having neither arm to fight, nor legs to runne away) either burned or drowned them all, ſave one Engliſh man, Alexander Giffard (whoſe ancient and famous family flouriſheth to this day at Chellington in Staffordſhire) who wounded in five places of his bodie, eſcaped to the French, and reported what had happened to the reſt.

And by this time Melechſala underſtood of the correſpondency betwixt King Lewis and the governour of Cairo, for the betraying of the city: Whereupon he cauſed him ſuddenly to be apprehended; whereby the French King loſt all hopes to obtain that place of importance. Yea, now full willingly would the Chriſtians have accepted the terms formerly offered them; and now their hungry ſtomachs would make dainties of thoſe conditions which before, when full of pride, they threw away as fragments. But the Turks now ſleighted them as not worth the treating with; and as knowing that theſe Frenchmen, who at their firſt landing were more then men, would at laſt be leſſe then women.

Then began the French Lords to perſwade King Lewis to

196

provide for the ſafety of his own perſon, and to return to Damiata. They told him, That if he ſtayed with them, there was no hope grounded on probability (and what was any other but a wilfull ſelf-deluſion?) of his eſcaping: If he were killed, his death would be a living ſhame to their religion; if taken priſoner, how would Mahomet inſult over Chriſt! The captivity of the moſt Chriſtian of the moſt Chriſtian Kings would be foundation enough for the Turks thereon to build tropheys of eternall triumph. But Lewis would not leave them, that they might not leave him, but reſolved to be a commoner with them in weal and wo; diſdaining to be ſuch a niggard of his life as not to ſpend it in a good cauſe in ſo good company.

Anno Dom. 1250

Forward they march, and come to the fatall place where the laſt battel was fought. There behold the mangled, headleſſe, handleſſe, feetleſſe corpſes of their fellow-countreymen. They knew in generall they were all their friends; none knew his particular friend. The cauſe of this unwonted cruelty to the dead, was a proclamation which Melechſala made, aſſigning a great ſumme of money to every one who would bring the head, hand, or foot of a Chriſtian: And this made many of his covetous cowards (who carried their valour in their purſes) to be couragious. Whileſt the French were here bemoning their fellows, Melechſala came upon them with an infinite multitude, and put them all (being few and feeble) to the ſword; taking King Lewis, with his two brethren, Alphonſe and Charles, priſoners.

Apr. 5.

Inſtantly the Turks went up with French enſignes to Damiata, hoping ſo ſuddenly to ſurpriſe it. Which project had it took effect, then farewell King Lewis for ever. He muſt be ſent a preſent to the Caliph of Babylon, from whom never any returned alive; Melechſala being but Purgatory, whence there was redemption; but the Babylonian Caliph Hell it ſelf, from whence no hope of releaſe. But God defeated their deſigne; for the Turks could not French it ſo handſomely, but that they were diſcovered. The very language of their hands made them ſuſpected afarre off, becauſe they could not counterfeit the French idiotiſmes in managing their bucklers, that nation being moſt punctuall and criticall in their military poſtures: But being come neare, it was plain for any to read Turk in their beards and complexions; ſo that they departed without having what they deſired.

Anno Dom. 1250

Chap. 17.

The wofull impreſsion which the ill ſucceſſe of the French wrought on the Chriſtians in Europe.

SOme made more haſt then good ſpeed (bad news being the worſt ware a ſhip can be fraught with) to ſail into France with the ſad tidings of this overthrow. Theſe intelligencers Blanch, the Queen-mother and Regent of France, rewarded with the gallows: and my Authour doubteth not to pronounce them all *Martyrs. But let them be contented with the coronet of their own innocence, though without the crown of Martyrdome; that honour belonging to ſuch alone as ſuffer death for fundamentall points of religion. But ſo great an eclipſe could not long be kept from the eyes of the world; & this dolefull and diſmall news was ſounded and ſeconded from every ſide. Then was there a generall lamentation over all Chriſtendome, chiefly in France, where all were ſo ſorrowfull, that any mirth was counted profaneneſſe. Many bounded not themſelves within the banks of grief, but brake out into blaſphemy, both in France and elſewhere, taxing Juſtice it ſelf of being unjuſt; and not content to admire what they could not conceive, condemned Gods proceedings herein to be againſt right, becauſe above their reaſon. Fools, becauſe they could not conquer on earth, did quarrel with heaven. This bad breath, though it came but from the teeth of ſome, yet proceeded from the corrupted lungs of others: ſome ſpake but out of preſent paſſion, but others even out of inbred Atheiſme. Many who before were but lukewarm in religion, now turned ſtark-cold. In Venice and ſome other cities of Italy, the inhabitants whereof* Matthew Paris calleth *ſemichriſtianos*, but half-Chriſtians (though this his harſh appellation wanteth three parts of charity) began wholly to tend to apoſtaſie. And now for a crutch to ſtay their reeling faith, it was high time for the Clergie to ply the pulpits. They perſwaded thoſe Rachels who in this voyage had loſt any children and would not be comforted, that their children were in a moſt bleſſed condition: They emptied all their boxes of their colours of rhetorick, therewith to paint out the happineſſe of their eſtate which they enjoyed in heaven: They pieced out their Sermons with reporting of Miracles; How William Earl of Sarisbury appeared to his *mother, and aſſured her that he reigned moſt glorious in heaven. She preſently forgot her grief for loſing her ſonne, for joy that ſhe had found a Saint, yea, a Martyr. This was their conſtant cuſtome; When any in Europe wept for the loſſe of their friends in this warre, their tears were inſtantly dried

* Quos Martyres credimus eſſe manifeſtos, *Matth. Pariſ. pag.* 1059.

* *Ut priùs.*

* *Matth. Pariſ. pag.* 1051.

198 dried up with some hot miracle that was reported them: Wherewith the silly people were well pleased; as babes of clouts are good enough to keep children from crying. *Anno Dom.* 1250

About this time many thousands of the English were resolved for the Holy warre, and would needs have been gone, had not the King strictly guarded his ports, and kept his Kingdome from running away out of doores. The King promised he would go with them, and hereupon got a masse of money from them for this journey. Some say, that he never intended it; and that this onely was a trick to stroke the skittish cow to get down her milk. His stubborn subjects said, that they would tarry for his company till midsummer, and no longer. Thus they weighed out their obedience with their own scales, and the King stood to their allowance. But hearing of this sorrowfull accident, both Prince and people altered their resolution; who had come too late to help the French in their distresse, and too soon to bring themselves into the same misery.

Chap. 18.

King Lewis exchanged for Damiata, stayeth some yeares at Ptolemais.

BUt return to Egypt; where King Lewis was kept prisoner by Melechsala, who often felt his disposition about the resigning of Damiata, but found that to heare of death was more welcome musick unto him.

But see here a sudden alteration: One Tarqueminus a sturdy Mamaluke, with another of that society, killed Melechsala in the very height of his victorious happinesse, and succeeded him in the Egyptian Kingdome. This Tarquemine came in with an intent to send Lewis the same way: Which poore Prince was onely armed with innocence and majesty, and yet his bare person defended his person from that cruel attempt: such an awfull impression did his very presence, saith my Authour, strike into him who would have stricken him. But we may rather think that the city of Damiata was King Lewis his corslet, and that all the towres and walls of that place fenced him; Tarqueminus reserving his person as an equivalent ransome, thereby to redeem that royall citie.

Now Lewis had changed his Lord, but not his lamentable condition, continuing still a prisoner. At last he was restored to his liberty, on condition, that the Christians should surrender Damiata, and he also pay back to the Turks many thousand pounds,

Anno Dom. 1250

pounds, both for ranſome of Chriſtian captives, and in ſatisfaction of the vaſtations they had committed in Egypt. Lewis for ſecurity of this money, pawned to the Turk the Pyx and Hoſt (that is, the body of Chriſt transſubſtantiated in the Euchariſt) as his chiefeſt jewel which he ſhould be moſt carefull to redeem. Hence, in perpetuall memory of this conqueſt, we may ſee a * Wafer-cake and a Box alwayes wrought in the borders of that tapeſtry which is brought out of Egypt.

* *Du Serres, in the life of Lewis the 9.*

Note by the way, that the Turks were moſt unreaſonable in their rates of ranſoming ſouldiers, and in all other their pecuniary demands. For their own countrey being neare to the fountain of gold and ſilver, they made as if it flowed as plentifully in other places, meaſuring the wealth of other lands by their own, and asking as much for a private mans ranſome as would drain a Princes purſe in theſe Weſtern parts.

Thus was Damiata reſtored again to the Turks, and the Chriſtians punctually performed their promiſes; though the falſe Miſcreant on the other ſide ſet not half the captives free, killed all the ſick perſons whom by promiſe he ſhould relieve, and (contrary to the agreement) ſuffered not any Chriſtian to tranſport any of his goods out of Egypt.

Hence Lewis ſailed to Ptolemais: where he lived in a miſerable caſe, being forſaken of his brothers, ſubjects, friends, and the Pope himſelf. His brothers, Alphonſe and Charles, though ſent into France to ſolicite his ſuit, and to advance his ranſome with ſpeed, yet being arrived forgot the affliction of Joſeph; and the King was as farre from their mind as their ſight: Wherefore God juſtly viſited Alphonſe with an incurable diſeaſe. His ſubjects, though furious at firſt in bemoning him, yet the fit paſt, complained not ſo much for him as on him; charging him for ill managing the matters in Egypt by his cowardlineſſe and indiſcretion. His friends, the Piſans and Genoans, reviled him as the marrer of their mart, Damiata being formerly their moſt gainfull port; but now their hony was ſpoiled by deſtroying the hive: For the Sultan ſeeing the city taken twice of the Chriſtians in ſhort time, to prevent further diſpute about it, took away the ſubject of the queſtion, and raſed it to the ground. The Pope forſook him: And though many intreated his Holineſſe not to proſecute the Emperour Frederick any further, from whom Lewis expected all the beams of his comfort, yet he would heare of no ſubmiſſion from him, but ſought finally to ruine him. Onely Blanch, King Lewis his mother, was carefull for her ſonne, and laboured his cauſe day and night. But alas! her arms were too ſhort to bring all ends together. And having gathered a conſiderable ſumme of money, and ſhipped it for Paleſtine, a tempeſt in a moment * caſt that away which her

* *Matth. Pariſ. pag. 1091.*

200

her care and thrift was many moneths in getting. All this he bore with a ſoul not benummed with Stoicall ſenſeleſſeneſſe, but becalmed with Chriſtian patience:* a ſecond Job; ſo that what pleaſed God, pleaſed him. It ſomewhat mitigated his miſery, that he had the company of his conſort Margaret, a woman worthy ſo good a husband. Here ſhe bore him a child, which becauſe another Benoni, or Sonne of ſorrow, was called Triſtram. But that * name is more ancient, nor had it its birth from the chriſtening of this child.

Foure yeares King Lewis lived (not to ſay, loitered) in Syria, daily expecting in vain that ſome Prince of Europe ſhould fetch him off with honour, being loth to return till he could carry home his credit with him. And though he was out of his Kingdome, yet was he in his kingdome, whileſt ſurveying there the ſacred monuments wherewith he was ſo highly affected.

Anno Dom. 1250

**Matth. Pariſ. pag.* 1091.

* Sr Triſtram a Knight long before. *See Carew, in Cornwall, fol.* 61.

Chap. 19.

The Common-wealth of the Mammalukes deſcribed, preſenting us with many unexampled remarkables.

NOw more largely of Tarqueminus, and his killing Melechſala, and of the common-wealth of the Mammalukes begun by him. And becauſe great is the merit of this ſtory, as very memorable, we will fetch it from its firſt originall.

* *Book* 2. *chap.* 40.

Saladine (as is touched * before) was the firſt of the Turkiſh Kings who began the gainfull trade of the Mammalukes. Theſe were Chriſtian captives, brought out of Taurica Cherſoneſus, and inſtructed as in Mahometaniſme ſo in all military diſcipline; Saladine diſpoſing them in martiall nurſeries, and continuing a conſtant ſucceſſion of them one under another. It is above belief how much and ſpeedily they were improved in warlike exerciſes: Art doubled their ſtrength by teaching them to uſe it. And though they came rough out of their own countrey, they were quickly hewen and poliſhed by education: yea, their apprehenſions prevented the precepts, and their practice ſurpaſſed the preſidents of thoſe that inſtructed them. As it is obſerved in fruits and flowers, that they are much bettered by change to a fitter ſoil; ſo were theſe people by altering their climate: The cold countrey wherein they were bred, gave them big and robuſtious bodies; and the hot climate whereinto they were tranſplanted, ripened their wits, and beſtowed upon them craft

Anno Dom. 1250.

craft and activity, the dowrie of the Southern countreys. They attained to be expert in any ſervice; eſpecially they were excellent horſemen: and at laſt they began to ride on the backs and necks of the Turkiſh Kings themſelves. 201

True it is, Saladine kept his diſtance over them, uſed them kindly, yet made them not wantons; and ſo poiſed theſe Mammalukes with his native Egyptians, that in all actions he ſtill reſerved the caſting voice for himſelf. But Meladine and Melechſala his ſucceſſours, entertained them without number, and inſtructed them beyond reaſon, ſo that under them in a manner they monopolized all places of ſtrength and command; till at laſt, the ſtemme of theſe mercenary ſouldiers being too great for the ſtock of the natives, the Turkiſh Kingdome in Egypt, like a top-heavy tree, became a windfall. Indeed, the daſtardneſſe of the Egyptians made theſe Mammalukes more daring and inſolent. For the Egyptians more loved profit then honour, & wealth then greatneſſe; and though contented to abide labour, would in no wiſe undergo danger. Merchandiſe they were wholly imployed in; and it ſeemed they uſed trading ſo long, till at laſt they made ſale of their own ſpirits. Yea, one could not now know Egypt to be Egypt, but onely by the overflowing of Nilus, not by any remaining ancient marks of valour in the peoples diſpoſition. Thus the *genius* of old Kingdomes in time groweth weaker, and doteth at the laſt.

But to come to Tarqueminus; He being one of theſe Mammalukes, and perceiving how eaſie it was for thoſe that did ſupport, to ſupplant the Turkiſh Kings, with another of his aſſociates ſlew Melechſala, as it was ſaid. And becauſe it was unfitting ſo great a Prince ſhould go to the grave alone, he alſo ſent his children and intimate friends thither to attend him. Tarqueminus afterwards procured of his ſociety to be choſen King of Egypt. He was the Solon or Lycurgus of this ſlaviſh common-wealth; and by the conſent of the reſt of his company he enacted many laws: Whereof theſe were thoſe of the Grand Charter, which admitted of no revocation:

First, That the * Sultan, or chief of this ſervile Empire, ſhould be choſen alwayes out of the Mammalukes.

* *Knolls, Turk. Hiſt. pag.* 107.

Secondly, That none ſhould be admitted to the Order of the Mammalukes which were either Jews or Turks by birth, but onely ſuch as being born Chriſtians, were afterwards taken captives, and then from the time of their ſlavery had been inſtructed in the Mahometane religion.

Thirdly, That though the ſonnes of the Mammalukes might enjoy their fathers lands and wealth, yet they might not take upon them the name or honour of a Mammaluke.

Fourthly, That the native Egyptians ſhould be permitted no

202 uſe of weapons, but onely ſuch as with which they fought againſt weeds, to till and manure the land. *Anno Dom.* 1250

In ſurveying this State, we can turn no way but muſt meet with wonders:

Firſt, one would think that there was ſuch an indelible character of ſlavery in theſe captives, and ſuch a *læſum principium* in them, that none of them ever ſhould make a good Prince, as knowing no more how to ſway a ſceptre then a pure clown to manage a ſword; or elſe that they ſhould over-ſtate it, turn tyrants, and onely exchange their ſlavery, by becoming vaſſals to their own paſſions. Yet many of them in their kinds were worthy Princes for government, no whit inferiour to thoſe which are advantaged with royall birth and breeding.

Secondly, it is a wonder they ſhould be ſo neglective of their own children. How many make an idol of their poſterity, and ſacrifice themſelves unto it, ſtripping themſelves out of neceſſaries to provide their heirs a wardrobe! yea, it is a principle in moſt moderate minds, to advance their poſterity; thinking hereby in a manner they overcome death, and immortalize their memories, in leaving their names and honours to their children: Whereas the contrary appeared in theſe Mammalukes.

Thirdly, it is admirable that they fell not out in the election of their Prince, being in a manner all equall amongſt themſelves. We ſee elective States in Chriſtendome, though bound with the ſtraiteſt laws, often ſagge aſide into ſchiſmes and factions; whereas this ſtrange Empire in their choice had no dangerous diſcords, but ſuch as were quenched in the kindling.

Laſtly, who ever knew a wall that had no better cement, to ſtand ſo ſure and ſo long? Two hundred ſixty and ſeven yeares this State endured; and yet had it to do with ſtrong and puiſſant enemies. Some Kingdomes ow their greatneſſe not ſo much to their own valour and wiſdome as to the weakneſſe of their neighbours: but it fared not thus with the Mammalukes. To omit Preſter John, who neighboured them on the ſouth; on all other ſides they were encompaſſed with potent oppoſers: From whom right valiantly they defended themſelves, till in the yeare 1517 they were overcome by Selimus the great Turkiſh Emperour.

To conclude; As for the Amazons and their brave atchievements, with much valour and no manhood; they and their State had onely being in the brains of fabulous writers: As for the Aſſaſines, or regiment of rogues; it never ſpread to the breadth of any great countrey, nor grew to the height of a Kingdome; but being the jakes of the world, was caſt out in a place betwixt barren hills: But this Empire of vaſſals was every way wonderfull, ſtretching ſo farre over all Egypt and moſt of Syria, and

Anno Dom.

and lasting so long. A strange State! wherein slavery was the first step to their throne, and apostasie the first article in their religion. 203

Chap. 20.

The manner of the death of Frederick King of Jerusalem; His Will, and posterity after him. An interregnum *both in Germanie and the Kingdome of Jerusalem.*

1250 IN this same yeare Frederick King of Jerusalem and Emperour of Germany ended his troublesome dayes. A Prince, who in the race of his life met with many rubs, some stumbles, no dangerous fall. Besides the Turk, he had to do with the Pope (the Pope immortall in his succession.) And though his Holinesse was unfit for warre (as being alwayes old, and never ripe for that place till almost rotten) yet he used his own head, and commanded the hands of others; whereby he kept Frederick in a continuall warre. Yet never could he have beaten him with fair play, had he not used a weapon, if not against the law of Arms, against the law of God, and against which no guard, Arming his subjects against him, and Dispensing with the oath of allegeance.

But he gave Frederick the mortall wound, in setting himself against himself; I mean, Henry his eldest sonne. And though Frederick easily conquered that rebellious youth, and made him fast enough, keeping him in prison in Apulia, where he died; yet he carried the grief hereof to his grave. For now he knew not where or in whom to place any confidence; as suspecting the single cord of Loyaltie would not hold in others, which brake in his own sonne though twisted with Naturall affection.

The greatnesse of his spirit was a great hastening of his death; and being of a keen, eager, and active nature, the sharpnesse of the sword cut the scabbard the sooner asunder. Bowe he could not, break he must. What-ever is reported, he died of no other poison then sorrow (which ushered him into a wasting ague) grief being a burden whereof the strongest shoulders can bear the least. As for the fame, that *Maufred his base sonne should stifle him with a pillow: though I must confesse he might be taken on suspicion, as likely enough to play such a deviliſh prank; yet it is unreasonable, that he who is ac-

* *Bzovius*, anno 1250. §.14.

204

quitted by the * Authours of the same time, should be condemned on the evidence of the writers of after-ages.

He died at Florence in an obscure castle on S. Lucies day, having reigned King of Jerusalem three and twenty yeares. By his Will he bequeathed many ounces of gold to the Knights Templars and Hospitallers, in recompense of the wrongs they had received by him. He left a great summe of money for the recovery of the Holy land, to be disposed at the discretion of the foresaid Knights. He forbad any stately funerall for himself, though in his life immoderately excessive in pomp; as if he would do penance for his pride after death. A Prince, who had he not been hindred with domesticall discords, would have equalized Cesar himself: For if thus bravely he laid about him, his hands being tied at home with continuall dissensions, what would he have done if at liberty? A scandal is raised since his death, That he was but * a millers sonne; but he would have ground them to powder who in his life-time durst have averred it. Indeed he was very happy in mechanicall matters, such as we may term Liberall handycrafts; as casting, founding, carving in iron and brasse: Neither did this argue a low soul, to dabble in such mean imployments, but rather proved the amplitude and largenesse thereof; of so generall acquaintance, that no Art was a stranger to him. But the suspicion of his birth rose from the almost miraculous manner of it; Constantia his mother bearing him when welnigh sixty yeares of age. But both in Scripture and other writers, we may see the sonnes of long-barren mothers to have been fruitfull in famous atchievements.

Pity it was that he had some faults: yea, pity it had been if he had not had some. But his vices indeed were notorious and unexcusable. Many wives and concubines he had, and by them many children.

Anno Dom. 1250 *Dec.* 13. As others, 26.

* Falsum ex ejus temporis hominum testimonio esse convincitur, *Pantal. in Fred.* 2°.

**Others say*, a falconers, *or*, a physicians. *See Munster, De Italia, lib.* 2. *pag.* 235.

Gathered out of Lampad. Mellif. hist. part. 3. *pag.* 306.

His wives.	His legitimate children;	Their preferment.
1. Constantia, Queen of Aragon.	Henry, who rebelled against him.	King of the Romanes.
2. Iole, daughter to John Bren.	Conrade.	Duke of Suevia.
3. Agnes, daughter to the Marquesse of Moravia, childlesse divorced.		
4. Rutina.		
5. Isabella of Bavaria.	Agnes.	Married to Conrade Landtgrave of Hessen.
6. Mawd, daughter to John King of England.	Constance.	Wife to Lewis Landtgrave of Hessen.
His concubine Blanch.	His base sonnes.	
	1. Henzius.	King of Sardinia.
	2. Maufred.	Usurper of Sicily.
	3. Frederick.	Prince of Antioch.

It

Anno Dom. 1250

It is much, that succession adventured in so many severall bottoms, should miscarry: Yet these foure sonnes dying, left no lasting issue; and in the third generation Fredericks stock, and that whole race of Suevian Princes was extinct: Which in the judgement of some men was a judgement of God on him for his lasciviousnesse.

We must not forget a memorable passage which happened more then twenty yeares after Fredericks death: * One Tylo Colupp, a notable juggler, sometime brought up at the Court, cunningly sowing together all the old shreds of his Courtship, and stretching them out with impudency, pretended to be Frederick the Emperour, long detained in captivity in Palestine. The difference betwixt their aspects was easily reconciled; for few Physiognomy-marks are so deeply fixed in any face, but that age and misery will alter them. The credulity of the vulgar sort presently betrayed them to be couzened by him: yea, some Princes took this brasse for gold without touching it. But the best engine which gave this puppet his motion, was a bruit constantly buzzed, That Frederick was not dead. For Princes, the manner of whose deaths hath been private and obscure, fame commonly conjureth again out of their graves, and they walk abroad in the tongues and brains of many, who affirm and beleeve them to be still alive. But the world soon surfeted of this cheaters forgerie; and this glow-worm when brought into the light, shined no more, but at Nanse was burnt to ashes by Rodulphus the Emperour.

* *Calvisius*, anno 1285. *ex Spang. Et Pantal. in Rodulpho Cæsare.*

After Fredericks death there was an *interregnum* for three and twenty yeares in the Empire of Germany. True it is, that of some, William Earl of Holland (one without a beard, not valour) was nominated Emperour. The Spirituall electours chose Richard, brother to our King Henry the third. And as in Cornwall he got much coin, so Germany gave him a bottomlesse bag to put it in. A third party named Alphonse King of Castile, an admirable Mathematician: But the ointment of his name is marred with the dead flie of his Atheisticall speech, That if he had been in Gods stead, he could have framed the world better then now it is. Notwithstanding, the best Dutch writers make an *interregnum*, as counting the Empire still a widow, and all these rather her suiters then any her husband.

In like manner also in Palestine there was not any King for fourteen yeares after Fredericks death. The right indeed lay in Conrade Duke of Suevia, Fredericks sonne by Iole daughter to John Bren King of Jerusalem: But he was so imployed in defending himself in Sicily against Maufred his base brother (who soon after dispatched him out of the way) that he had no leisure to prosecute his title to the fragments of the Kingdome of Jerusalem.

206

Chap. 21.

Anno Dom.

The Pastorells killed in France; King Lewis returned home.

GO we back to King Lewis, who all this while stayed in Palestine, busying himself partly in building and fensing of Sidon and Cesarea, partly in composing discords betwixt the Pisans and Genoans, even proceeding to threaten them into agreement: But these armed men little cared for his naked menacing. He being also an excellent religious Antiquary and Critick on holy monuments, much employed himself in redeeming of old sacred places from the tyranny of time and oblivion.

Mean time, in his Kingdome of France happened this strange accident; * An Hungarian pesant, who is said to have been an apostate to Mahomet and well learned, gathered together many thousands of people, pretending they had intelligence from heaven to march to the Holy land. These took on them the name and habit of *Pastorelli*, poore shepherds; in imitation belike (as the Devil is Gods ape) of those in the Gospel, who were warned by Angels in a vision to go to Bethlehem. 1251

* *Matth. Paris. pag. 1094.*

Being to shape their course into Palestine, they went into France; shewing they had a *vertigo* in their heads, mistaking the West for the East; or else, that like vagabonds they were never out of their way.

The Holy Lambe was their ensigne, but their actions neither holy nor lambe-like. They pillaged and killed the poore Jews as they went (an unhappy nation, whose heads lie pat for every ones hands to hit, and their legges so stand in mens way that few can go by them without spurning at them:) Where they wanted Jews, they made Jews of Christians, especially if they were rich, using them with all cruelty. But at last neare Burdeaux threescore thousand of them were slain, and the rest dispersed. A rhymer of that age (or in courtesie call him a Poet) made this Epitaph on them;

* *M semel, & bis C, L I conjungere disce;*
Duxit Pastorum saeva Megaera chorum.

* *Magdeburg. Cent. 13. cap. 16. col. 698.*

Learn to put together well,
What M, C, C, L, I, do spell;
When some deviliſh fiend in France
Did teach the Shepherds how to dance.

By this time Lewis in Syria had stayed out the death and burial 1253

Anno Dom. 1253 *Apr.* 25.

riall of all his hopes to receive ſuccour from his own countrey. Long expecting in vain that France ſhould come to him, he at laſt returned to it. The greatneſſe of the burden he bore, made him go the faſter; and being loaden with debts to his Italian creditours, he ſecretly haſted home: Where ſafely arriving, beſides loyaltie to their Prince, love to a ſtranger was enough to make him welcome. 207

Chap. 22.

The converſion of the Tartarians. Haalon conquereth Perſia, and extinguiſheth the Caliphs of Babylon.

LEwis is gone, and left the Chriſtians in Syria in a wofull condition, without hope of amendment. Now, can any good come out of Tartary? Can the Northern wind blow a comfortable warmth? Yea; ſee a ſtrange viciſſitude of things! Haito the Chriſtian King of Armenia had travelled to Mango the Cham of Tartary, to communicate to him the preſent danger of the Turks, and to conſult of a remedy. He ſhewed, how if order were not taken with them in time, they would overrunne all Aſia: Let him not count that he lay out of their rode, becauſe of his remote ſituation: For what is the way wanderers will not trace? He might expect onely this courteſie, to be laſt devoured. In concluſion, Haito prevailed ſo farre with this Pagan, that he not onely promiſed his aſſiſtance, but alſo was baptized, and took the Chriſtian religion on him: So alſo
1254 did his whole countrey by his example; and Chriſtianity being the Court-faſhion, none would be out of it. Never ſince the time of Conſtantine the Great, did the devil at once loſe a greater morſel, or was there made a more hopefull acceſſion to the Faith.

Marinus Sanutus. Magdeburg. Cent. 13. cap. 16. col. 699.

Underſtand we this converſion of Tartary (though Authours predicate it univerſally of that whole countrey) onely of Cathaia, the Eaſtern and moſt refined part of that Empire: For Cannibals were ſtill in the North, who needed firſt to be converted to reaſon and to be made men, before they could become Chriſtians. Alſo at this ſame time we find a ſwarm of Weſtern Tartarian heathens forraging * Poland. So it ſeemeth, ſo vaſt was the Empire, that it was ſtill night in the Weſt, though it was day in the Eaſtern part thereof.

* *Calviſius, ex Hiſt. Pol. in anno* 1259.

Now, whether the converſion of theſe Tartarians was ſolemnly,

208

lemnly, deliberately, and methodically wrought by preaching, first those things wherein the light of Nature concurreth with Faith; then, those wherein humane reason is no foe but standeth neuter; lastly, such as are merely of Faith, leaving the issue of all to God, whose * oratory alone can perswade souls: or whether (which is more probable) it was but tumultuously done, many on a sudden rather snatching then embracing religion, we will not dispute. Sure it is that Mango sent Haalon his brother (who is said to have married a wife an excellent Christian, and * descended from the Wise-men who came to see our Saviour) with a great armie to suppresse the Turks and assist the Christians. It seemeth his armie rid post; for falling into Persia, he conquered it sooner then one can well travel it, * in half a yeare. It facilitated his victory, because that countrey had much unfurnished her self to furnish her forrein colonies and garisons in Syria: And generally active nations are strongest abroad, and weakest at home; where they are onely strong with a conceit of their strength beleeved in other countreys. The citie Samarchanda onely resisted him. Haalon seeing it would not come at the first, let it stay; counting it beneath a conquerour to tempt his fortune with a long siege, which perchance might alter the whole course of the cards, and make him rise a loser. Wherefore he himself onely skimmed the cream of the conquest, and went away with what was easie and smooth, deputing an inferiour captain to hew this knotty service; who after a long siege subdued it. For in respect of the age of this siege, that of Troy was but a child, it lasting *seven and twenty yeares; and at last not taken but yeelded up, the defendants then wanting clothes to cover their nakedness.

From Persia Haalon marched to Babylon: The Caliph whereof called Musteazem, was so superstitious an idolater to his wealth, that he would not provide necessaries for the defense of the city; and therefore it was quickly subdued. The covetous Caliph he * famished to death, and then filled his mouth with melted gold. Every where Mosques went down and Churches up.

Hence into Mesopotamia: which he instantly conquered, with the cities of Aleppo and Edessa. He wonne and restored many places to Conrade the Christian Prince of Antioch, which the Turks formerly detained from him. Yea, this Tartarian armie so awed Melechem the Mammaluke Prince of Egypt, who succeeded Tarqueminus, that he durst not budge. And many other good offices this Haalon did to the Christians in Syria.

Chap.

Anno Dom.

1255

1256

1258

1260

* Θεῖόν ὄτι πείθειν τὰς ψυχάς, Athanasius.

*Magdeburg. Cent. 13. cap. 2. pag. 5.

* So Knolls, Turk. Hist. pag. 112. The Magdeburgenses say lesse, Semestri spatio, Cent. 13. cap. 16. col. 699.

*Magdeburg. & Knolls, ut prius.

*Calvisius, in anno 1158. ex Bizaro.

Anno Dom.

Chap. 23.

The discord betwixt the Genoans and Venetians, who burn the Genoans ships in Ptolemais.

BUt they were unworthy of this happinesse, who would not be at leisure to make use of it, but busied themselves in private dissensions, the Genoans against the Pisans and Venetians. These States (as many other in Italy) at this time were so proud in their Masters old clothes, they scarce knew themselves, grown brave with the feathers the Eagle had moulted, and set up by the breaking of the Emperour in Italy. The Venetians and Genoans were hardly matched: The Pisans were not so strong, but as stomachfull as either of them, and then in this point of policie superiour to both; That first siding with the Genoans, they whipped the Venetians; then when they were sufficiently humbled, taking part with the Venetians, they stripped and lashed the Genoans: and the scales being even before, Pisa made that weigh down by course wherein she cast her grains.

Now not content to fall out at home within the doores of Italy, they must fight in Syria in the open street, where the Turks looked on and laughed at them; counting it in their apprehension as good sport as to see a spider poison a toad. Besides their old grudges transported hither out of Italy, this green wound was the cause of their dissension here: In Ptolemais these three States had their severall streets, severall markets for trading, and courts for causes both civill and criminall: but all three had one Church (that of S. Sabbas) common unto them, by the ordering of the Pope himself; who counted the same Church might serve the worshippers of the same God: But the * Venetians by the vertue of an ancient agreement betwixt them and King Baldwine for their service in winning this city, challenged a peculiar interest therein. Hereabout was there old bustling; and in a tumult, the Genoans at that time surpassing for number, drave the Venetians out of the Church: Yea, Philip of Montfort, a French Governour of Ptolemais in the time of the *interregnum*, wanting not onely policie for a Magistrate, but wit for a man (Blondus * saith he was half-mad, and his actions speak him no lesse) compelled the Venetians generally to forsake the city.

Implacably incensed hereat, the Venetians arm thirteen galleys which they had at Tyre, & coming to Ptolemais forced asunder the chain which crossed the haven, and burned five and twenty ships of the Genoans which lay there. For alas! being strait-

* *So saith Blondus, Decad. 2. lib. 8. pag. 308. But if we consult with Tyrius, lib. 10. cap. 28. the Genoans and not the Venetians wonne Ptolemais.*

* *Loco priùs citato.*

210 ned in the haven, they had no room (being intangled) to turn and free themſelves one from another. And though united force be moſt forcible, yet not when ſo ſtifled and ſmothered that it cannot expreſſe and exerciſe it ſelf. Many brave ſouldiers in theſe ſhips loſt their lives in a bundle, without ſelling them, or ever opening their wares. *Anno Dom.*

To avenge this loſſe, the State of Genoa ſent from home a navie of fifty ſhips of all ſorts, which came to Tyre. There meet they with Reinerius Zenus Duke of Venice, with the united power of the Venetians and Piſans, counting no fewer then ſeventy foure veſſels well provided. They would have fought in the very haven of Tyre, but the Governour of the citie forbad it: It would be more ſcandalous to Chriſtianity; The roving fireballs might hurt the citie, and ſinking ſhips hinder the harbour; Beſides, the conquered party would probably complain of the partiality of the place, that it more favoured one ſide; They ſhould not fight under his noſe; if they had a mind to it, let them out and try their fortunes in the open ſea.

Chap. 24.

The Genoan navie beaten by the Venetian; Sea and land-ſervice compared, both in danger and honour.

ACcordingly it was performed; out they go and fall to their work. Their galleys, like Oſtriches, uſed their legges more then their wings, more running with oars then flying with ſails. At that time, before Ordinance was found out, ſhips were both gunnes and bullets themſelves, and furiouſly ranne one againſt another.

They began with this arietation: Herein ſtrength was much but not all; nimbleneſſe was alſo very advantageous to break and ſlent the down-right ruſhings of a ſtronger veſſel. Then fell they to grappling: Here the ſteady ſhip had the better of it; and thoſe ſouldiers who beſt kept their legges could beſt uſe their arms, the ſureſt ſtander being alwayes the ſoundeſt ſtriker. Much valour was ſhewed on both ſides, and at laſt the victorie fell to the Venetian. The Genoans loſing five and twenty of their ſhips, fled, and ſaved the reſt in the haven of Tyre, after a moſt cruel and deſperate battel.

And ſurely, generally ſea-fights are more bloudy then thoſe on the land, eſpecially ſince gunnes came up, whoſe ſhot betwixt

Anno Dom.

twixt wind and water (like thoſe wounds ſo often mentioned in the Scripture under the fifth rib) is commonly obſerved mortall. Yea, farre harder it is for a ſhip, when arreſted and ingaged in a battel, to clear it ſelf, then for ſouldiers by land to ſave themſelves by flight. Here neither his own two nor his horſes foure legges can beſtead any; but like accidents they muſt periſh with their ſubjects, and ſink with their ſhip.

And then why is a ſea-victory leſſe honour, being more danger, then one atchieved by land? Is it becauſe ſea-ſervice is not ſo generall, nor ſo full of varieties, and the myſteries thereof ſooner learned? or becauſe in ſea-fights fortune may ſeem to be a deeper ſharer, and valour not ſo much intereſted? Whatſoever it is, the laurel purchaſed on land hath a more lively verdure then that which is got at ſea.

We return to the Venetians: Who uſing or rather abuſing this conqueſt, enter Ptolemais, caſt out all Genoans thence, throw down their buildings both publick and private, demoliſh the fort which they had builded at S. Saba, rifle and ſpoil their ſhops, ware-houſes and ſtore-houſes: onely the Pope prevailed ſo farre with them, that they ſet at liberty the priſoners they had taken.

Ten yeares did this warre laſt betwixt theſe two States in Syria, compoſed at laſt (ſaith my Authour) by the authority of Pope Clement the fourth, and by famine (the bad cauſe of a good effect) which in Paleſtine ſtarved them into agreement. Longer theſe warres laſted betwixt them in Italy: their ſucceſſe like the ſea; they fought on ebbing and flowing. In this coſtly warre Piſa was firſt beggered; and for all her politick partaking, Genoa at laſt trode ſo heavy upon her, that ever ſince ſhe hath drooped and hung the wing, and at this day is maid to Florence, who formerly was miſtreſſe of a good part of Italy. But I have no calling and leſſe comfort to proſecute theſe bloudy diſſenſions: For warres of Chriſtians againſt Infidels, are like the heat of exerciſe which ſerveth to keep the body of Chriſtianity in health; but theſe civil warres amongſt themſelves, like the heat of a feaver, dangerous, and deſtructive of religion.

212

Chap. 25.

Charles made King of Sicily and Jeruſalem by the Pope; Hugh King of Cyprus pretendeth alſo to go to Jeruſalem.

Anno Dom.

WE have now gotten Pantaleon, a Frenchman, who ſucceeded Robert in the titular * Patriarchſhip of Jeruſalem, to be Pope, by the name of Urbane the fourth. To advance the Holy cauſe, after fourteen yeares *interregnum* in Syria, he appointed Charles Duke of Anjou, younger brother to King Lewis of France, King of Sicily and Jeruſalem, and it was ratified by Clement the fourth his ſucceſſour.

* *Platina, in Urban.* iv.

This honour was firſt offered to Lewis himſelf; but piety had dried up in him all ambitious humours: then to our Henry of England; but his warre-waſted purſe could not ſtretch to the Popes price: At laſt, this Charles accepted it. But it is not for any ſpeciall favour to the buſh, if a man runne under it in a ſtorm: it was no love to Charles, but to himſelf, to be ſheltred from Maufred, that the Pope conferred this honour upon him. And the wife of Charles, that ſhe might go in equipage with her three ſiſters, being Queens, ſold all her * jewels to furniſh her husband with money to purchaſe theſe Kingdomes: that ſex loving bravery well, but greatneſſe better.

1265

* *Beſoldus, De reg. Sicil. pag.* 645, & 649.

Now the Pope (whoſe well-grounded and bounded bountie will never undo him; for where he giveth away the meat he ſelleth the ſauce) * conditioned with Charles on theſe terms: Firſt, that he ſhould conquer Maufred then King of Sicily, who moleſted the Pope; and that he ſhould finally ſubdue all the remaining race of Frederick the ſecond, Emperour, who claimed that Kingdome. Secondly, in acknowledgement that he held theſe Kingdomes from the Pope, he ſhould pay him an annuall penſion of foure (ſome ſay, fourty) thouſand pounds. Provided, if this Charles ſhould chance to be choſen Emperour of Germany, that then he ſhould either reſigne Sicily back again into the hands of his Holineſſe, * or not accept the Empire. For he knew that all Emperours would be poſſeſſed with an antipapall ſpirit; and that they would hold Sicily, not in homage from the Church, but as a member of the Empire: Beſides, the Pope would not diſpenſe that Princes ſhould hold pluralitie of temporall Dominions in Italy; eſpecially, he was ſo tickliſh he could not endure the ſame Prince ſhould embrace him on both ſides.

* *See theſe conditions at large (five and twenty in number) out of Jo. Anton. Summont. cited in Beſoldus, pag.* 647.

* *Platina, in Clem.* iv. Néve Imperium Romanum, etiam ultro oblatum, acciperet.

Ever ſince, the twinne-titles of Sicily and Jeruſalem have gone

Anno Dom.

gone together; and fit it is that the shadow should follow the substance. Charles subdued Maufred and Conradine his nephew (the last of the Suevian race, and grandchild to Emperour Frederick) and was possessed of Sicilie, and lived there; but as for the gaining of Jerusalem, he little regarded it, nor came thither at all: A watchfull King, who never slept in his Kingdome.

His absence gave occasion to * Hugh King of Cyprus to furbish up new his old title to the Kingdome, as lineally descended from Almerick the second. And coming to Ptolemais, he there

1269 Sept. 27. was crowned King of Jerusalem: But the extremity of the famine (all things being excessive deare) much abated the solemnity and state of his Coronation.

* *Calvisius, in anno 1269. ex Marino Sanuto.*

Chap. 26.

The Tartarians alienated from the Christians; Bendocdar tyrannizeth over them, and Lewis King of France setteth forth again for to succour them.

1261. BUt betwixt two Kings the Kingdome went to the ground: For* Haalon the Tartarian Prince, & late Christian convert, was returned home to succeed his brother Mango in the Empire, leaving Abaga his sonne with competent forces in the city of Damascus, which he had wonne from the Turks. Soon after, Abaga followed his father, and substituted Guirboca his Lieutenant in Damascus.

* *Calvisius, ex Marino Sanuto, in anno 1260.*

1262. This Guirboca, upon the occasion of his nephew rashly slain by the Christians in a broil, fell off wholly from Christianity, with all the Tartarians his countreymen. The occasion this; The Dutch Christians return with great booty they had taken from the Turks: * Guirboca's nephew meeteth them, demandeth it for himself; the Christians deny him (as souldiers are very tender-conscienced in that point, counting it a great sinne to part with the spoil they are possessed of:) hence brawls, then blows; Guirboca's nephew is slain: Hereat the Tartarians (who were very humourous in their friendship; if not observed to an inch, lost for ever) in discontent, all either reel aside to Mahomet, or fall back to Paganisme.

* *Magdeburg. Cent. 13. cap. 16. col. 699.*

Herein the Christians cannot be excused: Infant-converts must be well tended. It had been discretion in them, even against discretion to have yeelded a little to these Tartarians, and so to continue their amity, which was so advantageous to the Holy

214 warre. How-ever, one may queſtion the truth of their converſion, whether reall at firſt: This ſpring was too forward to hold; and the ſpeedy withering of their religion argueth it wanted root. And as tame foxes, if they break looſe and return wild, do ten times more miſchief then thoſe which were wild from the beginning; ſo theſe renegadoes raged more furiouſly then any Pagans againſt religion. Guirboca ſacrificed many Chriſtians to the ghoſt of his nephew, deſtroyed Ceſarea and burnt it, uſing all cruelty againſt the inhabitants. *Anno Dom.*

Nor leſſe were the Chriſtians plagued at the ſame time with Bendocdar the Mammaluke Prince in Egypt; who ſucceeded Melechem, and every where raging againſt them, either killed or forced them to forſwear their religion. The city of Joppa he took and burned; and then wonne Antioch, ſlaying there- 1268.
in twenty thouſand, and carrying away captive an hundred thouſand Chriſtians. But it may juſtly be ſuſpected that theſe numbers were written firſt in figures, and therefore at too much length, when the adding of nothing may increaſe many thouſands.

Theſe wofull tidings brought into Europe, ſo wrought on the good diſpoſition of Lewis King of France, that he reſolved to make a ſecond voyage into Paleſtine to ſuccour the Chriſtians.

He ſo fixed his mind on the journeys end, that he ſaw not the dangers in the way. His Counſel could not diſſwade, though they did diſſwade him. Firſt, they urged, That he was old; let younger men take their turns: They recounted to him his former ill ſucceſſe; How lately had that hot countrey ſcorched the lilies of France, not onely to the blaſting of the leaves, but almoſt withering of the root? Beſides, the ſinews of the Chriſtians in Syria were ſo ſhrunk, that though lifted up, they could not ſtand; That Nature decayed, but not thus wholly deſtroyed, was the ſubject of phyſick; That the Turks had got a habit of conquering, and riveted themſelves into the poſſeſſion of the countrey; ſo that this voyage would but fleet the cream of the Kingdome to caſt it into the fire.

But as a vehement flame maketh feuel of whatſoever it meeteth; ſo this Kings earneſt reſolution turned bridles into ſpurres, and hindrances into motives to his journey. Was he old? let him make the more ſpeed, leſt envious death ſhould prevent him of this occaſion of honour. Had he ſped ill formerly? he would ſeek his credit where he loſt it: Surely, Fortunes lottery had not all blanks, but that after long drawing he ſhould light on a prize at laſt. Were the Chriſtians in ſo low a caſe? the greater need they had of ſpeedy help.

Thus was this good Kings judgement over-zealed. And ſurely

Anno Dom.

surely though Devotion be the naturall heat, Discretion (which wanted in him) is the radicall moisture of an action, keeping it healthfull, prosperous, and long-lived. 215

Well, King Lewis will go, and to this end provideth his navie; and is accompanied with Philip and Tristram his sonnes, Theobald King of Navarre his sonne in law, Alphonse his brother, and Guido Earl of Flandres. There went also Edward eldest sonne to Henry King of England. It was a wonder he would now adventure his head when he was to receive a Crown, his father being full-ripe to drop down without gathering, having reigned longer then most men live, fifty and five yeares. But thirsty was this Edward of honour: Longshanks was he called; and as his strides were large, so vast and wide was the extent of his desire. As for his good father, he was content to let go the staff of his age for to be a prop to the Church. And though King Lewis was undiscreet in going this journey, he was wise in choosing this his companion, to have this active Prince along with him; it being good to eye a suspicious person, and not to leave him behind.

With Edward went his brother Edmund Earl of Lancaster, surnamed Crouch-back; not that he was crook-shouldered, or camel-backed: (From which our English Poet most zealously doth vindicate him;

* *Edmund like him the comeliest Prince alive,*
Not crook-back'd, ne in no wise disfigured,
As some men write, the right line to deprive,
Though great falshood made it to be scriptured.)

* *Harding, chap.* 147.

but from the Crosse, anciently called a Crouch (whence Crouched Friars) which now he wore in his voyage to Jerusalem. And yet it maketh it somewhat suspicious, that in Latine * records he is never read with any other epithet then *Gibbosus*. But be he crooked or not, let us on straight with our story.

* *Vincents Discoveries of Brooks errours, Tit.* Lancaster.

Chap. 27.

King Lewis besiegeth the city of Tunis; His death and commendation.

1270 LEwis now having hoised up sail, it was concluded by the generall consent of his Counsel, That to secure and clear the Christians passage to Palestine from pirates, they should first take the city of Carthage in Africa by the way.

This Carthage long wrestled with Rome for the sovereignty, and

216

and gave as many foils as ſhe took, till Scipio at laſt cruſhed out her bowels with one deadly fall. Yet long after the citie ſtood before wholly demoliſhed, to be a ſpurre to put metall into the Romanes, and to be a forrein mark for their arrows, leſt otherwiſe they ſhould ſhoot againſt themſelves. At laſt by the counſel of Cato it was quite deſtroyed: who alledged, That it was not ſafe to have a knife ſo neare their throat; and though good uſe might be made of an enemy at arms end, yet it was dangerous to have him too cloſe to ones ſide; as Carthage was within a dayes ſail from Rome.

Anno Dom. 1270

Out of the ruines of this famous citie, Tunis aroſe; as often a ſtinking elder groweth out of the place where an oak hath been felled. Theeving was their trading: but then as yet they were Apprentiſes to piracie, whereof at this day they are grown Maſters. Yea, not conſiderable was Tunis then in bigneſſe, great onely in miſchief. But as a ſmall ſcratch juſt upon the turning of a joynt is more troubleſome then a bigger ſore in another place; ſo this paltry town (the refuge of rogues, and wanderers home) ſeated in the paſſage betwixt Europe, Aſia, and Africa, was a worſe annoyance to Chriſtian traffick then a whole countrey of Saracens elſewhere. Wherefore both to revenge the bloud of many Chriſtians, who paſſing this way to Paleſtine were either killed or taken captive, as alſo to ſecure the way for the time to come, Lewis with his whole fleet (augmented with the navy of Charles King of Sicilie and Jeruſalem, his brother) bent his courſe to beſiege it.

It was concluded both unneceſſary and unfitting, firſt in a fair way to ſummon the city; becauſe like pernicious vermine they were to be rooted out of the world by any means: nor was it meet to laviſh the ſolemn ceremonies of warre on a company of theeves and murderers.

The ſiege was no ſooner begun but the plague ſeiſed on the Chriſtian armie: whereof thouſands died; amongſt others, Triſtram King Lewis his ſonne: And he himſelf of a flux followed after. This Lewis was the French Joſiah, both for the piety of his life and wofulneſſe of his death, ingaging himſelf in a needleſſe warre. Many good laws he made for his Kingdome: that not the worſt, He firſt * retrenched his Barons power to ſuffer parties to trie their intricate titles to land by duells. He ſeverely puniſhed blaſphemers, * ſearing their lips with an hot iron. And becauſe by his command it was executed upon a great rich citizen of Paris, ſome ſaid he was a tyrant: He hearing it, ſaid before many, I would to God that with ſearing my own lips I could baniſh out of my realm all abuſe of oathes. He loved more to heare Sermons then to be preſent at Maſſe: whereas on the contrary our* Henry the third ſaid, he had rather ſee his God

* *Sr Walter Ralegh, hiſt. part.* 1. *lib.* 5. *cap.* 3.

* *Alfonſo Villeg. in the life of S. Lewis.*

* *Continuat. Matth. Pariſ. in* anno 1273.

Anno Dom.

God then heare another ſpeak of him though never ſo well. His body was carried into France there to be buried, and was moſt miſerably toſſed; it being obſerved, that the ſea cannot digeſt the crudity of a dead corpſe, being a due debt to be interred where it dieth; and a ſhip cannot abide to be made a bier of. He was Sainted after his death by Boniface the eighth, and the five and twentieth day of Auguſt (on which day in his firſt voyage to Paleſtine he went on ſhipboard) is conſecrated to his memory. Herein he had better luck then as good a man, I mean our Henry the ſixth, who could not be canonized without a mighty ſumme of money; belike Angels making Saints at Rome. 217

Chap. 28.

Tunis taken; The French return home, whileſt our Edward valiantly ſetteth forward for Paleſtine.

1271 BY this time Tunis was brought to great diſtreſſe, and at laſt on theſe conditions ſurrendred: That it ſhould pay yearly to Charles King of Sicily and Jeruſalem fourty thouſand crowns; That it ſhould receive Chriſtian Miniſters, freely to exerciſe their religion; If any Saracen would be baptized, he ſhould be ſuffered; That all Chriſtian captives ſhould be ſet free; That they ſhould pay back ſo much money as ſhould defray the Chriſtians charges in this voyage. Our Edward would needs have had the town beaten down, and all put to the ſword; thinking the fouleſt quarter too fair for them. Their goods (becauſe got by robbery) he would have ſacrificed as an *anathema* to God, and burnt to aſhes: His own ſhare he execrated, and cauſed it to be burnt, forbidding the Engliſh to ſave any thing of it; becauſe that coals ſtolen out of that fire, would ſooner burn their houſes then warm their hands. It troubled not the conſciences of other Princes to enrich themſelves herewith, but they glutted themſelves with the ſtolen hony which they found in this hive of drones: And which was worſe, now their bellies were full they would go to bed, return home, and go no further. Yea, the young King of France, called Philip the Bold, was fearfull to proſecute his journey to Paleſtine; whereas Prince Edward ſtruck his breaſt, and ſwore, That though all his friends forſook him, yet he would enter Ptolemais, though but onely with Fowin his horſe-keeper. By which ſpeech he incenſed the Engliſh to go on with him.

The

218 The reſt pleading the diſtemperature of the weather, went to Sicily, in hope with change of aire to recover their health: Where many of them found what they ſought to avoid, death: amongſt other, Theobald King of Navarre, and Iſabell his wife, and William Earl of Flandres, who ended their dayes at Drepanum. Beſides, their navie was purſuivanted after with a horrible tempeſt, and a curſe (entailed either on their ill-gotten goods, or deſerting Gods cauſe, or both) arreſted them in their return: ſo that of this great wealth little was landed in Europe, their ſhips being wracked, & the goods therein caſt into the ſea; with which the waves played a little, and then chopped them up at a morſel. Whileſt the weather frowning on them, ſmiled on the Engliſh, Prince Edward no whit damnified either in his men or ſhips, with Elenor his tender conſort then young with child, ſafely arrived at Ptolemais, to the great ſolace and comfort of the Chriſtians there being in great diſtreſſe. *Anno Dom.* 1271

Chap. 29.

Prince Edwards performance in Paleſtine: He is dangerouſly wounded; yet recovereth, and returneth home ſafe.

AT his arrivall the laſt ſtake of the Chriſtians was on loſing: For Bendocdar the Mammaluke Prince of Egypt and Syria, had brought Ptolemais to ſo low an ebbe, that they therein reſolved (if ſome unexpected ſuccour reverſed not their intentions) within three dayes to reſigne the city unto him. Edward landing ſtayed this precipitation, who arrived with his armie there in the very *interim*, in opportunity it ſelf, which is the very quinteſſence of time; ſo that all concluded his coming (thus hitting the mark) was guided by the hand of an eſpeciall providence.

And now thoſe who before in deſpair would have thrown up their cards, hope at leaſt to make a ſaving game; and the Chriſtians taking comfort and courage, both defie their enemies, and their own thoughts of ſurrendring the citie. Prince Edward having ſufficiently manned and victualled Ptolemais, taking ſix or ſeven thouſand ſouldiers, marched to Nazareth; which he took, and ſlew thoſe he found there. After this, about midſummer, underſtanding the Turks were gathered together at Cakhow fourty miles off, very early in the morning he ſet upon them, ſlew a thouſand, and put the reſt to flight.

In

Anno Dom.

In theſe skirmiſhes he gave evident teſtimonies of his perſonall valour: Yea, in cold bloud he would boldly challenge any Infidel to a duell. To ſpeak truth, this his conceived perfection was his greateſt imperfection: For the world was abundantly ſatisfied in the point of his valour; yet ſuch was his confidence of his ſtrength, and eagerneſſe of honour, that having merited the eſteem of a moſt ſtout man, he would ſtill ſupererogate: yea, he would profer to fight with any mean perſon, if cried up by the *volge* for a tall man: this daring being a generall fault in great ſpirits, and a great fault in a Generall, who ſtaketh a pearl againſt a piece of glaſſe. The beſt was, in that age a man fighting with ſword and buckler, had in a manner many lives to loſe; and duells were not dangerous. 219

Whileſt he ſtayed at Ptolemais, Elenor his Lady was delivered of a fair daughter, called from her birth-place Joan of Acres: But fear of her husbands death abated her joy at her daughters birth. The Turks not matching him in valour, thought to maſter him with treachery, which was thus contrived: The Admirall of Joppa, a Turk, pretended he would turn Chriſtian, and imployed one Anzazim an Aſſaſine in the buſineſſe betwixt him and Prince Edward; who carried himſelf ſo cunningly, that by often repairing to our Prince he got much credit and eſteem with him.

* Some write, this Anzazim was before alwayes bred under ground (as men keep hawks and warre-horſes in the dark, to make them more fierce) that ſo coming abroad, he ſhould fear to venture on no man. But ſure, ſo cunning a companion had long converſed with light, and been acquainted with men, yea, Chriſtians and Princes, as appeareth by his complying carriage; elſe, if he had not been well read in their company, he could not have been ſo perfect in his leſſon. But let him be bred any where, or in hell it ſelf: For this was his religion, To kill any he was commanded, or on the non-performance willingly to forfeit his life.

* *Continuat. Matth. Pariſ. in* anno 1272 *pag.* 1345.

1272 The fifth time of his coming he brought Prince Edward letters from his Maſter, which whileſt he was reading alone and lying on his bed, he ſtruck him into the arm with an invenomed knife. Being about to fetch another ſtroke, the Prince with his foot gave him ſuch a blow that he felled him to the ground; and wreſting the knife from him, ranne the Turk into the belly, and ſlew him; yet ſo, that in ſtruggling he hurt himſelf therewith in the forehead. At this noiſe in ſprang his ſervants, and one of them with a ſtool beat the brains out of the dead Turks head, ſhewing little wit in his own; and the Prince was highly diſpleaſed, that the monument of his valour

220

lour ſhould be ſtained with anothers crueltie.

It is ſtoried, how * Elenor his Lady ſucked all the poiſon out of his wounds, without doing any harm to her ſelf: So ſovereigne a medicine is a womans tongue, anointed with the vertue of loving affection. Pity it is ſo pretty a ſtory ſhould not be true (with all the miracles in Loves Legends) and ſure he ſhall get himſelf no credit, who undertaketh to confute a paſſage ſo ſounding to the honour of the ſex: Yet can it not ſtand with what * others have written; How the Phyſician who was to dreſſe his wounds, ſpake to the Lord Edmund and the Lord John Voyſie to take away Lady Elenor out of the Princes preſence, leſt her pity ſhould be cruel towards him, in not ſuffering his ſores to be ſearched to the quick. And though ſhe cried out and wrung her hands, Madame, ſaid they, be contented; it is better that one woman ſhould weep a little while then that all the realm of England ſhould lament a great ſeaſon: And ſo they conducted her out of the place. And the Prince, by the benefit of phyſick, good attendance, and an antidote the Maſter of the Templars gave him, ſhewed himſelf on horſe-back whole and well within fifteen dayes after.

The Admirall of Joppa hearing of his recovery, utterly diſavowed that he had any hand in the treachery: as none will willingly father unſucceeding villany. True it is, he was truly ſorrowfull; whether becauſe Edward was ſo bad, or no worſe wounded, he knoweth that knoweth hearts. * Some wholly acquit him herein, and conceive this miſchief proceeded from Simon Earl of Montforts hatred to our Prince, who bearing him and all his kindred an old grudge for doing ſome conceived wrong to his father (in very deed, nothing but juſtice to a rebell) hired, as they think, this Aſſaſine to murder him; as a little before for the ſame quarrel he had ſerved Henry ſonne to Richard King of the Romanes, and our Edwards couſin-germane, at Viterbo in Italy. It is much this Simon living in France ſhould contrive this Princes death in Paleſtine: but malice hath long arms, and can take men off at great diſtance. Yea, this addeth to the cunning of the engineer, to work unſeen; and the further from him the blow is given, the leſſe is he himſelf ſuſpected.

Whoſoever plotted, God prevented it, and the Chriſtians there would have revenged it, but Edward would not ſuffer them. In all haſte they would have marched and fallen on the Turks, had not he * diſſwaded them, becauſe then many Chriſtians unarmed, and in ſmall companies, were gone to viſit the Sepulchre, all whoſe throats had then probably been cut before their return.

Eigh-

Anno Dom. 1272

* *Speed, in Edward the firſt.*

* *See Fox Martyrolog. pag.* 337.

* *P. Æmyl. in D. Ludovico, pag.* 227.

* *Continuat. Matth. Pariſ. in* anno 1272 *pag.* 1347.

Anno Dom.

Eighteen moneths he ſtayed at Ptolemais, and then came back through Italy, without doing any extraordinary matter in Paleſtine. What muſick can one ſtring make when all the reſt are broken? what could Edward do alone, when thoſe Princes fell back on whom the project moſt relied? Lewis and Charles were the main undertakers; Edward entertained but as an adventurer and ſharer: and ſo he furniſhed himſelf accordingly, with competent forces to ſuccour others, but not to ſubſiſt of themſelves. But as too often, where the principall miſcarrieth, the ſecond & ſureties muſt lie at the ſtake to make the debt good: ſo in their default he valiantly went forward, though having in all but thirteen ſhips and ſome thouſands of men (too many for a plain Prince to viſit with, and too few for a great one to warre with) and performed what lay within the compaſſe of his power. In a word, his coming to Ptolemais and aſſiſting them there, was like a cordiall given to a dying man, which doth piece out his life (or death rather) a few grones and as many gaſps the longer. 221

By this time Henry his aged father being dead (his lamp not quenched but going out for want of oil) the Engliſh Nobility came as far as the Alpes in Savoy to wait on Edward in his return. Leave we him then to be attended home by them to receive the Crown, to which no leſſe his vertues then birth entitled him. Since the Conqueſt he was the firſt King of his name, and the firſt that ſettled the Law and State (deſerving the ſtyle of* Englands Juſtinian) and that freed this Kingdome from the wardſhip of the Peers; ſhewing himſelf in all his actions after, capable to command not the realm onely but the whole world.

* *Sr Robert Cotton, in his Henry* iii.

Chap. 30.

Rodulphus the Emperours voyage to Paleſtine hindred. The Duke of Mechlenburg his captivity and inlargement.

BEfore Edwards departure, Hugh King of Jeruſalem and Cyprus concluded a peace (to our* Princes ſmall liking) with the Mammaluke Sultan of Egypt, to hold onely in and neare Ptolemais; whereby the Chriſtians had ſome breathing-time. But that which now poſſeſſed all mens thoughts and talk in Syria, was the expectation of Rodulphus to come thither with a great army; who (after two and twenty yeares *interregnum*) was choſen Emperour of Germany.

* *Marinus Sanutus.*

1273 This Rodulphus was a mean Earl of Haſpurg (Frederick the laſt Emperour was his *godfather; who little thought, that having ſo many ſonnes of his own, his godſonne ſhould next ſucceed him)

* *Pantal. De illuſtr. Germ. part. 2. in vita Rodulphi*

222 and lived in a private way. But now the Empire refuſing her rich ſuiters, married this Earl without any portion, onely for pure love. A preferment beyond his expectation, not above his deſerts: For Germany had many bigger lights, none brighter. Pope Gregory the tenth would not ratifie his election, but on this condition, That he ſhould in perſon march with an armie to Paleſtine. And though this was but an old policie, To ſend the Emperours far away, that ſo he might command in chief in their abſence; yet his Holineſſe did ſo turn and dreſſe this threed-bare plot with ſpecious pretenſes of piety, that it paſſed for new and freſh, eſpecially to thoſe that beheld it at diſtance. But Rodulphus could not be ſpared out of Germany, being there imployed in civil diſcords: The knees of the Dutch Princes were too ſtiff to do him homage, till he ſoftned them by degrees. And indeed he was not provided for the Holy warre, and wanted a ſtock of his own to drive ſo coſtly a trade, having no paternall lands conſiderable, no bottom to begin on; though through his thrift and providence he firſt laid the foundation of the Auſtrian familie. *Anno Dom.*

Yet ſomewhat to anſwer expectation, he ſent Henry Duke of Mechlenburg with competent forces into Paleſtine: Who coming to Ptolemais, made many notable incurſions into the countrey about Damaſco, with fire & ſword deſtroying all as he went, & carrying thence many rich booties; till at laſt he was circumvented and taken priſoner by the Mammalukes. Twenty ſix yeares he lived in captivity, keeping his conſcience free all the while: At laſt the Sultan of Egypt (a renegado Germane, who formerly had been engineer to this Dukes father) ſet him at liberty, together with Martine his ſervant; that he who ſo long had ſhared of his miſery, might alſo partake of his happineſſe. No ſooner had this Duke put to ſea, but he was again taken by pirates; and the Sultan, out of pity to this diſtreſſed Prince, and out of ſcorn that fortune ſhould fruſtrate and defeat his reall courteſie, ſet him free again. At laſt he came ſafely home, and was there welcomed with as much wonder as joy; his ſubjects conceiving his return a reſurrection, having buried him in their thoughts long before. 1275

Here he found * two counterfeits, who pretended themſelves to be this Duke, and on that title challenged lodging with Anaſtaſia his Lady. But the one of them had a ſofter bedfellow provided him, a pool of water, wherein he was drowned; the other was made a bonefire of, to ſolemnize the joy of the Dukes return.

* *Pantal. De illuſtr. Germ part. 2. pag. 245.*

1282

1284

Chap.

Anno Dom.

Chap. 31.

Charles King of Jeruſalem; His intentions in Syria ſtopped by the Sicilian Veſpers; His death, and ſonnes ſucceſsion.

BY this time Charles King of Jeruſalem and Sicily had made great preparations for the Holy warre: And to make his claim to the Kingdome of Jeruſalem the ſtronger, he bought alſo the title of Maria Domicella Princeſſe of Antioch, which pretended a right to the ſame. He ſent alſo Roger the Count of S. Severine as his Vice-roy to Ptolemais: where he was honourably received in deſpite of Hugh King of Cyprus, by the eſpeciall favour of Albertine Moriſine the Venetian Conſul there. And now his navie was reported to be readie, and that by the way he had a project upon Michael Paleologus the Emperour of Greece: When all his intentions were ſuddenly blaſted; it ſo happening, that on Eaſter day, as the bell tolled to Even-ſong, all the throats of the Frenchmen in Sicily were cut in a moment by the natives thereof, and that Iſland wonne by Peter King of Aragon. The grand contriver of this maſſacre was one Jacobus Prochyta a Phyſician; and I dare ſay he killed more in an houre then he cured all his life-time.

Thoſe that condemn the Sicilians herein, cannot excuſe the French; ſuch formerly had been their pride, luſt, covetouſneſſe, and cruelty to the people of that Iſland, putting them cauſeleſſely to exquiſite torture, ſo that an ordinary hanging was counted an extraordinary favour. But the ſecrecie of contriving this ſlaughter of the French was little leſſe then miraculous; that ſo many knowing it, none ſhould diſcover it; like cunning dogs, barking in triumph after they had bitten, not before, to give any
1282 warning. Hence grew the proverb of *the Sicilian Veſpers*; though their Even-ſong was nothing to the Engliſh Mattens intended in the Gunpowder-treaſon. Mean time King Charles was at Rome, beholding the making of Cardinals, when this dolefull news was brought unto him, and ſtruck him to the heart. He ſurvived a yeare or two longer, but dull and melancholick, living as it were without life, and died at laſt, having reigned King of Jeruſalem twenty yeares. A Prince which had taſted of various ſucceſſe; fortune for a while ſmiling on him, and at laſt laughing at him.

1284 His ſonne Charles ſucceeded him in the Kingdome of Naples and in the title of Jeruſalem. He was ſurnamed *Cunctator*, Delayer; not in the ſame ſenſe as Fabius the Shield of Rome was ſo called: he onely ſtayed till opportunity was come; our Charles, till it was paſſed. I find nothing memorable of him except this, That

224 offended with the Templars in Paleſtine for taking part againſt him with the King of Cyprus, he ſeiſed on their lands, and confiſcated all their goods they had in Naples or any other part of his dominions. How-ever, let him have room in the catalogue of our Kings of Jeruſalem. For as high hills neare the ſea-ſide, though otherwiſe never ſo baſe and barren ground, yet will ſerve to be ſea-marks for the direction of mariners: ſo this Charles, together with Hugh, John, and Henry, Kings of Cyprus, pretending alſo to Jeruſalem, though we reade nothing remarkable of them, will become the front of a page, and ſerve to divide and diſtinguiſh times, and to parcel the hiſtory the better to our apprehenſion. As for the bare anatomie of their reigne (for we find it not fleſhed with any hiſtory) with the dates of their beginnings and endings, we ſhall preſent it to the reader hereafter in our Chronologie. *Anno Dom.* 1284

Chap. 32.

The ſucceſſion of the Mammaluke Princes in Egypt. Alphir taketh Tripoli and Tyre; The woefull eſtate of Ptolemais.

BUt whileſt theſe titular Kings ſlept, the Mammaluke Princes were vigilant to infeſt the reliques of the Chriſtians in Paleſtine: Which Princes ſucceſſion we will adventure to ſet down; nor are we diſcouraged with the difficulties which encounter us herein. The hardneſſe in the ſtory of the Mammalukes proceedeth (as we conceive) from one of theſe cauſes: Firſt, the State is not written directly, but by reflexion; not ſtoried by any conſtant writer of their own, but in ſnaps and parcels, as the Chroniclers of neighbouring Chriſtian countreys have catched at them. Secondly, out of a popular errour, their chief Captains by reaſon of their large authority paſſe for abſolute Kings. Thirdly, the ſame King hath many names, and the ſame name by tranſlation in ſundry languages is ſtrangely diſguiſed. How-ever, we will uſe our beſt conjectures in theſe uncertainties: and a dimme candle is better then no light.

Bendocdar or Bandodacar, otherwiſe Melechdaer, was the laſt Egyptian Prince we mentioned. A dangerous man to the Chriſtians, but that Abaga the Tartarian took him to task, and kept him in continuall imployment. This Abaga had a pretty trick to make cowards valiant, cauſing them that ranne away from the battel, ever after to wear womens clothes. Bendocdar died at Damaſcus of a *wound he received in Armenia; or, as ſome ſay, by cold in ſwimming over Euphrates.

* *Vide Calviſium in anno 1277. & Magdeburg. Cent. 13.*

Elpis

Anno Dom.

Elpis ſucceeded him, his* ſonne (ſay ſome;) but the Mammalukes laws forbid that, except his extraordinary worth was his faculty, & diſpenſed with him *ad ſuccedendum patri.* But who knoweth not that the Eaſtern tongue ſpeaketh nephews and kinſmen to be ſonnes? Some wholly omit him; enough to make us ſuſpect that he was onely ſome Deputy clapped in to ſtop up the vacancie till Melechſaites was choſen.

225
*Magdeburg. Cent. 13. cap. 16. col. 701.

Melechſaites (called by Marinus, Melechmeſſor) wonne the ſtrong caſtle of Mergath from the Hoſpitallers. He much loved and was very bountifull to the Carmelites, who lived diſperſed in
1285 Syria: but afterwards he baniſhed them out of his countrey, becauſe they altered their habit, and wore white coats at the appointment of Pope Honorius; the Turks being generally enemies to innovations, and loving conſtancy in old cuſtomes. Nor was this any miſhap but an advantage to the Carmelites, to loſe their dwellings in Syria, and gain better in Europe, where they planted themſelves in the fatteſt places: So that he who knoweth not to chooſe good ground, let him find out an houſe of the Carmelites (a mark that faileth not) for his direction.

1289 Alphir was next to Melechſaites, otherwiſe called Elſi. He perceiving that now or never was the time finally to expell the Chriſtians out of Paleſtine, whileſt the Princes in Europe were in civil warres, beſieged and wonne Tripoli, Sidon, Berytus, and Tyre, beating them down to the ground, but ſuffering the inhabitants on ſome conditions to depart. Nothing now was left but Ptolemais: which Alphir would not preſently beſiege, leſt he ſhould draw the Chriſtians in Europe upon him; but concluded a peace for five yeares with the Venetians, as not willing wholly to exaſperate them by winning all from them at once, and thinking this bitter potion would be better ſwallowed by them at two ſeverall draughts.

Mean time Ptolemais was in a wofull condition. In it were ſome of all countreys; ſo that he who had loſt his nation, might find it here. Moſt of them had ſeverall courts to decide their cauſes in; and the plenty of Judges cauſed the ſcarcity of juſtice, malefactours appealing to a triall in the courts of their own countrey. It was ſufficient innocency for any offender in the Venetian court, that he was a Venetian. Perſonall acts were entituled nationall, and made the cauſe of the countrey. Outrages were every-where practiſed, no-where puniſhed; as if to ſpare Divine revenge the pains of overtaking them, they would go forth and meet it. At the ſame time, they were in fitters about proſecuting their titles to this city, no fewer then the Venetians, Genoans, Piſans, Florentines, the Kings of Cyprus and Sicily, the Agents for the Kings of France and England, the Princes of Tripoli and Antioch, the Patriarch of Jeruſalem, the Maſters of the Templars

226 and Hoſpitallers, and (whom I ſhould have named firſt) the Legate of his Holineſſe, all at once with much violence contending about the right of right nothing, the title to the Kingdome of Jeruſalem, and command of this city; like bees, making the greateſt humming and buzzing in the hive when now ready to leave it. *Anno Dom.*

Chap. 33.

Ptolemais beſieged, and taken by Sultan Serapha.

WIthin the city were many voluntaries lately come over, five hundred whereof were of the Popes furniſhing. But belike he failed afterwards in his payment to them, the golden tide flowing not ſo faſt out as into his Holineſſe coffers. The ſouldiers being not payed, according to their blunt manners, would pay themſelves; and marching out, pillaged the countrey contrary to the truce: Sultan Serapha (who ſucceeded Alphir) demanding reſtitution, is denied, and his Embaſſadours ill intreated.

Hereupon he ſitteth down before the city with ſix hundred thouſand men. But we are not bound to beleeve that Alexanders ſouldiers were ſo big as their ſhields ſpeak them which they left in India, nor Aſian armies ſo numerous as they are reported. Allow the Turks dominions ſpacious and populous, and that they rather drained then choſe ſouldiers; yet we had beſt credit the moſt niggardly writers, which make them an hundred and fifty thouſand. Serapha reſolveth to take it, conceiving ſo convenient a purchaſe could not be over-bought: The place, though not great, yet was a mote in the eye of the Turkiſh Empire, and therefore pained them. 1290

Peter Belviſe Maſter of the Templars, a valiant Captain, had the command of the city aſſigned him by generall conſent. He encouraged the Chriſtians to be valiant, not like prodigall heirs to loſe this city for nothing which coſt their grandfathers ſo much bloud; at leaſt let them give one blaze of valour ere their candle went out. How ſhould they ſhew their friends their faces, if they ſhewed their foes their backs! Let them fight it out manfully; that ſo, if forced at laſt to ſurrender it, they might rather be pitied for want of fortune then juſtly blamed for lack of valour.

And now Ptolemais being to wreſtle her laſt fall, ſtripped her ſelf of all cumberſome clothes: women, children, aged perſons, weak folks (all ſuch hindering help, and mouthes without arms) were ſent away; and twelve thouſand remained, conceived competent to make good the place.

Serapha marcheth up furiouſly; his men aſſault the city, with open jaws ready to devoure it, had not their mouthes been ſtopped with the artillery the Chriſtians ſhot at them. Back they were

Anno Dom.

were beaten, and many a Turk ſlain. But Serapha was no whit ſenſible thereof: who willingly would loſe a thouſand men in a morning for a breakfaſt, double ſo many at a dinner, and continue this coſtly ordinary for ſome dayes together; yea, in ſpite he would ſpend an ounce of Turkiſh bloud, to draw a drop of Chriſtian. 227

In this conflict Peter Belviſe was ſlain with a poiſoned arrow: A loſſe above grieving for. Many were ſtrong in deſiring the honour who were weak to diſcharge the office. But the worſt miſchief was; the Chriſtians were divided amongſt themſelves, and neglected to defend the citie, conceiving that though that was taken, yet every particular nation could defend it ſelf, having their buildings ſeverally fortified: And this dangerous fanſie took off their thoughts from the publick good, and fixed them on their private ends. Mean time, the Patriarch of Jeruſalem, and others (ſome name with them Henry King of Jeruſalem and Cyprus) more ſeeking their ſafety then honour, ſecretly fled (with their bodies after their hearts) out of the city; and ſome of them ſhunning a noble death, fell on a baſe end, being drowned in the ſea. Their cowardlineſſe is imputed by ſome Authours to all the reſt; whereas it appeareth on the contrary, they moſt valiantly behaved themſelves.

1291 At laſt, the Turks entred the city by undermining the walls, and conceived their work now done, when it was new begun. For they found Ptolemais not a city, but a heap of cities thrown together: wherein the people of every countrey ſo fenſed themſelves in their ſeverall forts, that they powdered the Turks with their ſhot when they entred the ſtreets. It is hardly to be paralleled in any ſiege, that a taken city was ſo long before it was taken: for it held out fifty dayes; and the Knights-Hoſpitallers made good their caſtle for * two whole moneths together. But alas! as the ſeverall parts of *Inſecta* being cut aſunder, may wriggle and ſtirre a while, not live long; ſo theſe divided limbes could not long ſubſiſt, and at laſt moſt of them were ſlain.

* *Lampad. Mellif. hiſt. part. 3. pag. 313.*

Yet was it a bloudy victory to the Turks; moſt of them that entred the city being either burned with fire, or killed with arrows, or ſmothered with the fall of towres, the very ruines (as thirſty of revenge) killing thoſe that ruined them.

Serapha evened all to the ground, and (leſt the Chriſtians ſhould ever after land here) demoliſhed all buildings; the Turks holding this poſition, That the beſt way to be rid of ſuch vermine, is to ſhave the hair clean off, and to deſtroy all places wherein they may neſtle themſelves.

Some ſay, he plowed the ground whereon the city ſtood, and ſowed it with corn: but an * eye-witneſſe affirmeth, that ſtill there remain magnificent ruines, ſeeming rather wholly to conſiſt of

* *Sand. Trav. pag. 204.*

228 of divers conjoyned caſtles, then any way intermingled with private dwellings. *Anno Dom.* 1291

No fewer then an hundred thouſand Latine Chriſtians (all that were left in Syria) fled at this time into Cyprus. It is ſtrange what is reported, * That above five hundred matrones and virgins of noble bloud, ſtanding upon the ſhore of Ptolemais, and having all their richeſt jewels with them, cried out with lamentable voice, and profered to any mariner that would undertake ſafely to land them any-where, all their wealth for his hire, and alſo that he ſhould chooſe any one of them for his wife. Then a certain mariner came, and tranſporting them all freely, ſafely landed them in Cyprus; nor by any enquiry could it after be known (when he was ſought for to receive his hire) who this mariner was, nor whither he went.

* *Lampad. pag.* 312.

The Hoſpitallers for haſte were fain to leave their treaſure behind them, and hide it in a vault; which being made known from time to time to their ſucceſſours, was fetched from thence by the * galleys of Malta about three hundred yeares afterwards.

* *Sand. Trav. pag.* 204.

Henry King of Cyprus to his great coſt and greater commendation, gave free entertainment to all Pilgrimes that fled hither, till ſuch time as they could be tranſported to their own countreys; and thanks was all the ſhot expected of theſe gueſts at their departure.

Thus after an hundred ninety and foure yeares ended the Holy warre; for continuance the longeſt, for money ſpent the coſtlieſt, for bloudſhed the cruelleſt, for pretenſes the moſt pious, for the true intent the moſt politick the world ever ſaw. And at this day, the Turks to ſpare the Chriſtians their pains of coming ſo long a journey to Paleſtine, have done them the unwelcome courteſie, to come more then half the way to give them a meeting.

The end of the fourth Book.

A Supplement of the Historie of the HOLY WARRE.

Book V.

Chap. 1.

The executing of the Templars in France.

Anno Dom.

MY task is done. Whatsoever remaineth is voluntary & over-measure, onely to hemme the end of our historie that it ravel not out: As to shew, What became of the Templars, the Teutonick Order, and the Hospitallers; What were the hindrances of this warre; What nation best deserved in it; What offers were afterwards made to recover Jerusalem; By how many challengers that title at this day is claimed; What is the present strength of Jerusalem; What hope to regain it; with some other passages which offer attendance on these principall heads.

Know then, Some nineteen yeares after the Christians had lost all in Palestine, the Templars, by the cruel deed of Pope Clement the fifth, and foul fact of Philip the Fair King of
1310 France, were finally * exstirpated out of all Christendome. The historie thereof is but in twilight, not clearly delivered, but darkened with many doubts and difficulties: We must pick out letters and syllables here and there as well as we may; all which put together spell thus much.

* *Sabellicus, Enn. 9. lib. 7. Platina, in vita Clem. V.*

Pope Clement having long sojourned in France, had received many reall courtesies from Philip the King; yea, he owed little lesse then himself to him. At last, Philip requested of him a boon, great enough for a King to ask and a Pope to grant; namely, all the lands of the Knights Templars through

230 France, forfeited by reaſon of their horrible hereſies and licentious living. The Pope was willing to gratifie him in ſome good proportion for his favours received (as thankfulneſſe is alwayes the badge of a good nature) and therefore being thus long the Kings gueſt, he gave him the Templars lands and goods to pay for his entertainment. *Anno Dom.* 1310

On a ſudden all the Templars in France they clapt into priſon, wiſely catching thoſe Lions in a net, which had they been fairly hunted to death, would have made their part good with all the dogs in France. Damnable ſinnes were laid to their charge; as, ſacrificing of men to an idol they worſhipped, roſting of a Templars baſtard and drinking his bloud, ſpitting upon the croſſe of Chriſt, conſpiring with Turks and Saracens againſt Chriſtianitie, Sodomie, beſtialitie, with many other villanies out of the rode of humane corruption, and as farre from mans nature as Gods law.

Well; the Templars thus ſhut in priſon, their crimes were half-proved. The ſole witneſſe againſt them was one of their own Order, a notorious malefactour; who at the ſame time being in priſon and to ſuffer for his own offenſes, condemned by the Maſter of their Order, ſought to prove his own innocency by charging all his own Order to be guiltie. And his caſe ſtanding thus, he muſt either kill or be killed, die or put others to death, he would be ſure to provide water enough to drive the mill, and ſwore moſt heartily to whatſoever was objected againſt the Order. Beſides, the Templars being brought upon the rack, confeſſed the accuſations to be true wherewith they were charged. Hereupon all the Templars through France were moſt cruelly burned to death at a ſtake, with James the grand Maſter of their Order.

Chap. 2.

Arguments produced on either ſide, both for the innocencie and guiltineſſe of the Templars.

THere is ſcarce a harder queſtion in later hiſtorie then this, Whether the Templars juſtly or unjuſtly were condemned to ſuffer. On the one ſide, it is dangerous to affirm they were innocent, becauſe condemned by the Pope, infallible in matters of ſuch conſequence. This bugbear affrighteth many, and maketh their hands ſhake when they write hereof. If they ſhould ſay the Templars were burned wrongfully, they may be fetched over the coals themſelves for charging his Holi-

neſſe

Anno Dom. 1310

neſſe ſo deeply; yea, hereby they bring ſo much innocent bloud on the Popes head as is enough to drown him: Some therefore in this matter know little, and dare ſpeak leſſe, for fear of after-claps. Secondly, ſome who ſuſpect that one eye of the Church may be dimme, yet hold that both the eyes, the Pope and generall Councel together, cannot be deceived. 231

Now the Councel of Vienne countenanced the exſtirpation of the Templars, determined the diſſolution of their Order, and adjudged their lands to be conferred on the Knights-Hoſpitallers. Men ought then to be well adviſed how they condemn a generall Councel to be acceſſorie *poſt factum* to the murder of ſo many men.

For all this, thoſe who dare not hollow, do whiſper on the other ſide, accounting the Templars not malefactours but martyrs: Firſt, becauſe the witneſſe was unſufficient, a malefactour againſt his Judge; and ſecondly, they bring tortured men againſt themſelves. Yea, there want not thoſe that maintain that a confeſſion extorted on the rack is of no validitie. If they be weak men and unable to endure torment, they will ſpeak any thing; and in this caſe their words are endited not from their heart but outward limbes that are in pain: and a poore conqueſt it is, to make either the hand of a child to beat, or the tongue of the tortured man to accuſe himſelf. If they be ſturdie and ſtubborn, whoſe backs are paved againſt torments, ſuch as bring braſen ſides againſt ſteely whips, they will confeſſe nothing. And though theſe Templars were ſtout & valiant men, yet it is to be commended to ones conſideration, whether ſlaviſh and ſervile ſouls will not better bear torment, then generous ſpirits, who are for the enduring of honourable danger and ſpeedie death, but not provided for torment, which they are not acquainted with, neither is it the proper object of valour.

Again, it is produced in their behalf, that being burned at the ſtake, they denied it at their death, though formerly they had confeſſed it; and whoſe charitie, if not ſtark-blind, will not be ſo tender-eyed as to beleeve that they would not breathe out their ſoul with a lie, and wilfully contract a new guilt in that very inſtant wherein they were to be arraigned before the Judge of heaven. A Templar being to be burned at Burdeaux, and ſeeing the Pope and King Philip looking out at a window, cried unto them,* Clement thou cruel tyrant, ſeeing there is no higher amongſt mortall men to whom I ſhould appeal for my unjuſt death, I cite thee together with King Philip to the tribunal of Chriſt the juſt Judge who redeemed me, there both to appear within one yeare and a day; where I will lay open my cauſe, and juſtice ſhall be done without any

* *Hoſpin. De orig. Mon. cap. 18. fol. 193.*

Anno Dom. 1310

232 * *P. Æmylius, in Philippo Pulchro.*

by-reſpect. In like manner, * James grand Maſter of the Templars, though by piecemeal he was tortured to death, craved pardon of God, and thoſe of his Order, That forced by extremitie of pain on the rack, and allured with hope of life, he had accuſed them of ſuch damnable ſinnes, whereof they were innocent.

Moreover, the people with their ſuffrage acquitted them: happie was he that could get an handfull of their aſhes into his boſome, as the Relique of pious martyrs, to preſerve. Indeed little heed is to be given to peoples humours; whoſe judgement is nothing but prejudice and paſſion, and commonly envie all in proſperitie, pitie all in adverſitie, though often both undeſervedly: And we may beleeve that the beholding of the Templars torments when they were burned, wrought in the people firſt a commiſerating of their perſons, and ſo by degrees a juſtifying of their cauſe. However *vulgus non ſemper errat, aliquando eligit:* and though it matters little for the gales of a private mans fanſie, yet it is ſomething when the wind bloweth from all corners: And true it is, they were generally cried up for innocents.

Laſtly, Pope Clement and King Philip were within the time prefixed ſummoned by death to anſwer to God for what they had done. And though it is bad to be buſie with Gods ſecrets; yet an argument drawn from the event, eſpecially when it goeth in company with others, as it is not much to be depended on, ſo it is not wholly to be neglected. Beſides, King Philip miſſed of his expectation, and the morſel fell beſides his mouth; for the lands of the Templars, which were firſt granted to him as a portion for his youngeſt ſonne, were afterwards by the Councel of Vienne beſtowed on the Knights-Hoſpitallers.

Chap. 3.

A moderate way what is to be conceived of the ſuppreſſion of the Templars.

BEtwixt the two extremities of thoſe that count theſe Templars either Malefactours or Martyrs, ſome find a middle way; whoſe verdict we will parcel into theſe ſeverall particulars.

1. No doubt there were many novices and punies amongſt them, newly admitted into their Order; which if at all, were little guiltie; for none can be fledge in wickedneſſe at their firſt hatching: To theſe much mercie belonged: The puniſhing of

Anno Dom. 1310

of others might have been an admonition to them; and crueltie it was, where there were degrees of offenses, to inflict the same punishment, and to put all of them to death.

2. Surely many of them were most hainous offenders. Not to speak what they deserved from God (who needeth not pick a quarrel with man, but alwayes hath a just controversie with him) they are accounted notorious transgressours of humane laws: yet perchance if the same candle had been lighted to search, as much dust and dirt might have been found in other Orders.

3. They are * conceived in generall to be guiltlesse and innocent from those damnable sinnes wherewith they were charged: Which hainous offenses were laid against them, either because men out of modestie and holy horrour should be ashamed and afraid to dive deep in searching the ground-work and bottome of these accusations, but rather take them to be true on the credit of the accusers; or that the world might the more easily be induced to beleeve the crimes objected to be true, as conceiving otherwise none would be so devilish as to lay such devilish offenses to their charge; or lastly, if the crimes were not beleeved in the totall summe, yet if credited in some competent portion, the least particular should be enough to do the deed, and to make them odious in the world.

* *Urspergens. Paralip. fol. 368. Antoninus, tit. 21. cap. 1. §. 3.*

4. The chief cause of their ruine was their extraordinary wealth: They were feared of many, envied of more, loved of none. As Naboths vineyard was the chiefest ground for his blasphemie; and as in England, * Cornwall Lord Fanhop said merrily, That not he, but his stately house at Ampthill in Bedfordshire, was guiltie of high treason: so certainly their wealth was the principall evidence against them, and cause of their overthrow. It is quarrel and cause enough, to bring a sheep that is fat to the shambles. We may beleeve King Philip would never have took away their lives if he might have took their lands without putting them to death: but the mischief was, he could not get the hony unlesse he burnt the bees.

* *Cambdens Brit. in Bedfordshire.*

Some will say, The Hospitallers had great, yea, greater revenues, nineteen thousand Mannors to the Templars nine thousand; yet none envied their wealth. It is true: but then they busied themselves in defending of Christendome, maintaining the Island of Rhodes against the Turks, as the Teutonick order defended Spruce-land against the Tartarian; the world therefore never grudged them great wages who did good work. These were accounted necessarie members of Christendome, the Templars esteemed but a superfluous wenne; they lay at rack and manger and did nothing: who had they betook themselves to any honourable employment, to take the

234

Turks to task either in Europe or Asia, their happinesse had been lesse repined at, and their overthrow more lamented. And certain it is, that this their idlenesse disposed them for other vices; as standing waters are most subject to putrifie. *Anno Dom.*

* *Joach. Stephanus, De jurisdictione, lib. 2. cap. 10. §. 18.*

I heare one * bird sing a different note from all the rest in the wood; namely, that what specious shews soever were pretended, the true cause of their ruine was, that they began to desert the Pope and adhere to the Emperour. If this was true, no doubt they were deeply guiltie, and deserved the hard measure they suffered. Sure I am, how-ever at this time they might turn edge, they had formerly been true blades for his Holinesse.

All Europe followed the copie that France had set them. Here in England King Edward the second of that name, suppressed the Order, and put them to death; So by vertue of a writ sent from him to Sir John Wogan, Lord chief Justice in Ireland, were they served there; and such was the secrecie of the contrivance of the businesse, that the storm fell upon them before they saw it, and all crannies were so closely stopped that none could steal a glimpse of the mischief intended against them.

* *Hospin. De orig. Mon. cap. 18. fol. 193.*

In Germanie they found some mercie and milder dealing: for * Hugh Wildgrave coming with twenty of his Order all in armour into a Councel of Dutch Bishops, who intended to execute the sentence of the Pope upon them, there protested his innocencie, and appealed to the next Pope who should succeed Clement, as to his competent judge. Hereupon their lives were spared; onely they were forced to renounce the name of Templars, and to enter themselves into other Orders; chiefly of Hospitallers and Teutonicks, on whom their lands were bestowed. 1311

* *Hieronimo Romano, De la republica Christ. lib. 7. cap. 6. Et Pero Mexya, De la silva de varia licion. lib. 2. cap. 5.*

We will conclude all with that resolution of a * brace of Spanish writers, who make this epilogue to this wofull tragedie; Concerning these Templars, whether they were guiltie or not, let us suspend our censure till the day of judgement; and then and no sooner shall we certainly be informed therein.

Chap. 4.

Of the Teutonick Order; When they left Palestine, and on what conditions they were entertained in Prussia; Their Order at last dissolved.

FRequent mention hath been formerly made of the Teutonick Order, or that of Dutch Knights, who behaved themselves

Anno Dom.

ſelves right valiantly clean through the Holy warre: And, which ſoundeth much to their honour, they cannot be touched either for treaſon or faction, but were both loyall and peaceable in the whole ſervice.

But at laſt they perceived, that by the courſe of the cards they muſt needs riſe loſers if they continued the warre in the Holy land, and even reſolved to abandon it. It happened at the ſame time, that Conrade Duke of Mazovia offered them moſt honourable conditions; namely, the enjoying of Pruſſia, on condition they would defend it againſt the Infidels which annoyed it. Indeed the *fratres gladiferi*, or ſword-bearing brothers, brave flaſhing lads, undertook that task: but finding either their arms too weak, or ſwords too blunt to ſtrike through their enemies, they imployed the aid of, and conjoyned themſelves to this Teutonick Order. Hereupon, in the yeare of our Lord 1239, Hermannus de Saltza, fourth Maſter of theſe Dutch Knights, came with moſt of his Order into Pruſſia; yet ſo that he left a competent number of them ſtill in Paleſtine, which continued and did good ſervice there even to the taking of Ptolemais.

But the greater number of theſe Dutch Knights, in Pruſſia did knight-ſervice againſt the Tartarians, and were Chriſtendomes beſt bank againſt the inundations of thoſe barbarous people. By their endeavours the Pruſſians, which before were but heathen-Chriſtians, were wholly converted; many a brave citie builded, ſpecially Marienburg, where formerly a great oak ſtood; (who would think ſo many beautifull buildings would ſpring out of the root of one tree?) and thoſe countreys of Pruſſia and Livonia, which formerly were the courſe liſt, are now become the rich fringe of Europe.

At laſt the Pruſſians grew weary of the tyrannous oppreſſion of thoſe Dutch Knights (as appeareth by the grievances they preſented) and applied themſelves to Caſimire King of Poland. He took to task Lewis Erlinſufe the Maſter of their Order; and ſo ordered him, that whereas before he pleaded himſelf to be a free Prince of the Empire, hereafter he ſhould acknowledge the King of Poland for his Lord and Maſter. The ſucceſſours to this Lewis fretted againſt this agreement, as prejudiciall to them: They could do no leſſe then complain, and could do little more; for the King of Poland in ſpite of their reſiſtance held them to their agreements.

Albert of the houſe of Brandenburg was the laſt grand Maſter of this Order, and firſt Duke of Pruſſia. He brake the vow of their Order, loſing his virginitie to keep his chaſtitie, and married Dorothie daughter to the King of Denmark. The other Teutonicks proteſted againſt him, and choſe Gualther

236 ther Croneberg in his room: Yea, Albert was proscribed in a Diet in Germanie, and his goods confiscated, but the proscription never executed, the Emperour of Germanie being the same time employed in matters of greater moment which more nearly concerned himself. And thus in this Albert, for ought we can find to the contrarie, the Teutonick Order had its end, and was quite dissolved. *Anno Dom.*

Chap. 5.

The severall flittings of the Knights-Hospitallers, from Cyprus, by Rhodes, Nice, Syracuse, to Malta.

WE must now wait on the Hospitallers to their lodgings, and we have done. We left them driven from Ptolemais, and landed at Cyprus; where King Henry courteously entertained them. But a friends house is no home: Hence therefore they were conveyed to their severall Alberges in Europe.

But such active spirits could not long be idle; such running streams would not end in a standing pond. Wherefore they used all their own strength, and improved their interest with all their benefactours, to furnish out a fleet: Which done, under Fulk de Vilderet their grand Master they wonne the Island of Rhodes from the Turks eighteen yeares after Ptolemais was lost, and there seated themselves.

Besides Rhodes, they also enjoyed these five adjacent Islands, saith my Authour, Nicoria, Episcopia, Iolli, Limonia, and Sirana; places so small, that consulting with maps will not find them out: enough almost to make us think with Tertullian of Delos, that once there were such Islands, which at this day are quite vanished away.

Two hundred and fourteen yeares, to the terrour of the Turks, comfort of the Christians, and their own immortall fame, they maintained this Island, and secured the seas for the passage of Pilgrimes to Jerusalem: till at last in the yeare 1523, after six moneths siege they surrendred the citie to their own honour, and shame of other Christians who sent them no succour in season.

Yet changing their place they kept their resolution to be honourably imployed. Hence they sailed to Nice in Piemont, a citie lying opposite to Africa, from whence the Moores and Saracens much infested Christendome. Wherefore Charles Duke of Savoy bestowed that citie upon them to defend it; counting

Anno Dom.

counting the courtesie rather done to him then by him, that they would accept it.

Afterwards, they perceived it was more needfull to stop the Turks invasions then their pillagings: They had lately wonne Buda, and (as it was thought) would quickly stride over the Adriatick sea, and have at Italie. Wherefore the Hospitallers left Nice, and planted themselves at Syracuse in Sicilie: Where they right valiantly behaved themselves in defending that countrey.

But Charles the fifth, a politick Prince, though he saw their help was usefull, yet desired not much to have them live in his own countrey. He liked their neighbourhood better then their presence, to have them rather neare then in his Kingdome. Wherefore he appointed them the Island of Malta to keep for themselves, their grand Master onely paying yearly to the King of Spain a * Falcon in acknowledgement they held it from him. Loth were the Hospitallers to leave Sicilie, that Paradise of pleasure, and went very unwillingly from it.

* *Hospin. De orig. Mon. cap. 17. fol. 190.*

Malta is an Island in the mid-land-sea, seated betwixt Europe and Africa, as if it meant to escape out of both as being in neither. Here S. Paul suffered shipwrack, when the viper stung him not, but the men did, * condemning him for a murderer. And here the Hospitallers seated themselves, and are the bulwark of Christendome to this day, giving dayly evident proof of their courage. But their master-piece was in the yeare 1565, when they couragiously defended the citie of Malta besieged by Soliman: When he discharged seventie eight thousand bullets (some of them seven spans in compasse) against it, big enough not onely to overthrow walls but overturn mountains; yet notwithstanding they held out valiantly five moneths, and at last forced the Turk to depart.

* *Acts 28.4.*

These Knights of Malta are at this day a good bridle to Tunis and Algiers. I am informed by a good * friend (who hath spent much yet lost no time in those parts) that these Knights are bound by vow not to flie from the Turks, though one man or one galley to foure (half which ods Hercules himself durst not venture on;) but if there be five to one, it is interpreted wisdome not cowardlinesse, to make away from them: Also if a Christian ship wherein there is a Knight of Malta take a Turkish ship, that Knight is bound by his Order first to go aboard to enter it. The grand Master of this Order hath a great command, and is highly esteemed of; insomuch that the * authour of the *Catalogue of the glory of the world*, beleeveth he is to take place next to absolute Kings, above all other temporall Princes, even above Kings subject to the Empire. Sure he meaneth, if they will give it him; otherwise it

* *Mr Gr. Gibs of S. Perrot, Dorset.*

* *Cassanæus, part. 9. consider. 4.*

238 seemeth improper that the alms-man should take place of his benefactours. Yet the Lord Prior of the Hospitallers in England was chief Baron of the Realm, and had precedencie of all other Lords: and here his Order flourished with great pomp till their finall period; which I now come to relate. *Anno Dom.*

Chap. 6.

The Hospitallers in England stoutly withstand three severall assaults, which overthrew all other Religious foundations.

THe suppression of the Hospitallers in England deserveth especiall notice, because the manner thereof was different from the dissolving of other Religious houses; for manfully they stood it out to the last, in despite of severall assaults.

1. Cardinall Wolsey, by leave from the Pope, suppressed certain small houses of little value, therewithall to endow his Colledges in Oxford and Ipswich. He first shewed Religious places were mortall, which hitherto had flourished in a seeming eternitie. This leading case of Wolseys did pick the morter out of all the Abbey-walls in England, and made a breach in their strongest gate-houses, teaching covetousnesse (an apt scholar) a readie way to assault them: (For it is the dedication not the value of the thing dedicated, stampeth a character of sacredneſse upon it.) And King Henry the eighth concluded, if the Cardinall might eat up the lean Covents, he himself might feed on the fat ones, without danger of a sacrilegious surfet. True it is, Wolsey not wholly but in part alienated the lands of these pettie houses, reserving them still to the generall end of pious uses: But the King followed this pattern so farre as it was for his purpose, and neglected the rest.

* *Statut. in 27° Henr. viii.*

2. For not long after, the * Parliament granted him all Religious houses of and under the value of two hundred pounds yearly: and it was thought, that above ten thousand persons, masters and servants, lost their livelihoods by the demolishing of them. And for an introduction to the suppression of all the residue, he had a strait watch set upon them, and the Regulars therein tied to a strict and punctuall observation of their orders without any relaxation of the least libertie; insomuch that many did quickly un-nunne and disfriar themselves, whose sides

Anno Dom.

sides formerly used to go loose, were soon galled with strait lacing.

3. Then followed the grand dissolution or judgement-day on the world of Abbeys remaining; which of what value soever were seised into the Kings hands. The Lord Cromwell, one of excellent parts but mean parentage, came from the forge to be the hammer to maul all Abbeys. Whose magnificent ruines may lesson the beholders, That it is not the firmnesse of the stone nor fastnesse of the morter maketh strong walls, but the integritie of the inhabitants. For indeed foul matters were proved against some of them, as Sodomie and much uncleanneſse: Whereupon unwillingly willing, they resigned their goods and persons to the Kings mercie. But the Knights-Hospitallers (whose chief mansion was at St. Johns, nigh London) being Gentlemen and souldiers of ancient families and high spirits, would not be brought to present the King such puling petitions and publick recognitions of their errours as other Orders had done. They complained it was a false consequence, as farre from charitie as logick, from the induction of some particular delinquents to inferre the guiltinesse of all Religious persons. Wherefore like stout fellows they opposed any that thought to enrich themselves with their ample revenues, and stood on their own defense and justification.

Chap. 7.

The Hospitallers at last got on an advantage and suppressed.

BUt Barnabe's day it self hath a night; and this long-lived Order, which in England went over the graves of all others, came at last to its own.

They were suffered to have rope enough, till they had haltered themselves in a *Præmunire*: For they still continued their obedience to the * Pope, contrary to their allegeance, whose usurped authoritie was banished out of the land; and so (though their lives otherwise could not be impeached for any vitiousnesse) they were brought within the compasse of the law. The case thus standing, their deare friends perswaded them to submit to the Kings mercie, and not to capitulate with him on conditions, nor to stop his favour by their own obstinacie, but yeeld whilest as yet terms honest and honourable would be freely given them: That such was the irresistibleneſse of

* *Parlam. Anno 32°. Henr. viii.*

240

the Kings ſpirit, that like a torrent it would bear down any thing which ſtood betwixt him and his deſires; If his anger were once inflamed, nothing but their bloud could quench it: Let them not flatter themſelves into their own ruine, by relying on the aid of their friends at home, who would not ſubſtitute their own necks to ſave theirs from the ax; nor by hoping for help from forrein parts, who could ſend them no ſeaſonable ſuccour.

This counſel harſh at firſt, grew tunable in the eares of the Hoſpitallers; ſo that contented rather to exchange their clothes for worſe then to be quite ſtript, they reſigned all into the Kings hands. He allowed to Sr William Weſton Lord Prior of the Order, an annuall penſion of one thouſand pounds: But he received never a penny thereof, but dyed * inſtantly, ſtruck to the heart when he firſt heard of the diſſolution of his Priory: and lieth buried in the Chancell of Clarkenwell, with the portraiture of a dead man lying on his ſhroud, the moſt artificially cut in ſtone (ſaith my * Authour) that ever man beheld. Others had rent aſſigned them of 200l, 100l, 80l, 60l, 50l, 20l, 10l, according to their ſeverall qualities and deſerts.

*weaver, Mon. pag. 114.

1540 May 7.

* Idem, pag. 430.

At the ſame time juſts and tornaments were held at Weſtminſter: Wherein the challengers againſt all comers, were, Sr John Dudley, Sr Thomas Seymore, Sr Thomas Poinings, Sr George Carew, Knights; Antonie Kingſtone, and Richard Cromwell, Eſquires: To each of whom for reward of their valour, the King gave a hundred marks of yearly revenues, and a houſe to dwell in, to them and their heirs, out of the lands belonging to theſe Hoſpitallers. And at this time, many had Danae's happineſſe, to have golden ſhowres rained into their boſomes.

Theſe Abbey-lands, though skittiſh mares to ſome, have given good milk to others: Which is produced as an argument, That if they prove unſucceſſefull to any, it is the uſers default, no inherencie of a curſe in the things themſelves. But let one keep an exact Regiſter of lands, and mark their motions, how they ebbe and flow betwixt buyers and ſellers, and ſurely he will ſay with the Poet, οὐδὲν ἀλλὰ ῥυῆναι. And this is moſt ſure; Let land be held in never ſo good a tenure, it will never be held by an unthrift.

The Hoſpitallers Priory-church was preſerved from down-pulling all the dayes of King Henry the eighth: but in the third yeare of King Edward the ſixth, with the bell-towre (a piece of curious workmanſhip, graven, gilt, and enamelled) it was undermined and blown up with gunpowder, and the ſtone imployed in building the Lord Protectours houſe in the Strand.

Stow.

Anno Dom.

Thus as chirurgeons in cutting off a gangrened leg, alwayes cut it off above the joynt, even where the flesh is whole and sound: so (belike for fear of further infection) to banish Monkerie for ever, they rased the structures and harmlesse buildings of Priories, which otherwise in themselves were void of any offense. They feared if Abbeys were onely left in a swound, the Pope would soon get hot water to recover them: To prevent which, they killed them and killed them again, overturning the very foundations of the houses, infringing, altering and transferring the lands, that they might never be reduced to their old propertie. Some outrages were committed in the manner of these dissolutions: Many manuscripts, guiltie of no other superstition then red letters in the front, were condemned to the fire: and here a principall key of antiquitie was lost, to the great prejudice of posteritie. But in sudden alterations it is not to be expected that all things be done by the square and compasse. 241

Chap. 8.

Queen Mary setteth up the Hospitallers again; They are again deposed by Queen Elisabeth.

Queen Mary (a Princesse more zealous then politick) attempted to restore Abbeys to their pristine estate and former glory: And though certain of her counsellers objected, that the state of her Kingdome and dignitie thereof and her Crown imperiall could not honourably be furnished and maintained without the possession of Abbey-land; yet she *frankly restored, resigned, and confirmed by Parliament all ecclesiasticall revenues which by the authoritie of that high court in the dayes of her Father were annexed to the Crown, protesting she set more by her salvation, then by ten kingdomes.

*Parlam. Anno 2° & 3° Phil. & Mariæ.

But the Nobilitie followed not her example: They had eaten up the Abbey-lands, and now after twentie yeares possession digested and turned them into good bloud in their estates: they were loth therefore to emptie their veins again; and the forwardest Romanist was backward enough in this costly piece of devotion.

How-ever, out of her own liberalitie, she set up two or three bankrupt Covents, as Sion and Westminster, and gave them stock to trade with. The Knights also of S. John of Jerusalem she reseated in their place; and S. Thomas Tresham of

242 Rushton in Northamptonshire was the first and last Lord Prior after their restitution: For their nests were plucked down before they were warm in them, by the coming in of Queen Elisabeth. *Anno Dom.*

To conclude; In the founders of Religious houses were some good intents mixt with superstitious ends; amongst the Religious persons themselves, some pietie, more looseness and lazinesse; in the confounders of those houses, some detestation of the vices of Friars, more desire of the wealth of Friaries; in God, all just, all righteous, in permitting the badnesse and causing the destruction of these numerous Fraternities.

Chap. 9.

Observations on the Holy warre; The horrible superstition therein.

WE have finished the story of the Holy warre: And now I conceive my indentures are cancelled, and I discharged from the strict service and ties of an Historian; so that it may be lawfull for me to take more libertie, and to make some observations on what hath been past.

Before I go further, I must deplore the worlds losse of that worthy work which the Lord Verulam left unfinished, concerning the Holy warre; an excellent piece, and alas! it is but a piece: so that in a pardonable discontent we may almost wish that either it had been more, wholly to have satisfied our hunger, or lesse, not at all to have raised our appetite. It was begun not in an historicall but in a politick way, not reporting the Holy warre past with the Turks but advising how to manage it in the future. And no doubt if he had perfected the work, it would have proved worthy the Authour: But since, any have been deterred from finishing the same; as ashamed to adde mud-walls and a thatched roof to so fair a foundation of hewen and polished stone.

From that Authour we may borrow this distinction, That three things are necessarie to make an invasive warre lawfull; the lawfulnesse of the jurisdiction, the merit of the cause, and the orderly and lawfull prosecution of the cause. Let us apply to our present purpose in this Holy warre: For the first two, Whether the jurisdiction the Christians pretended over the Turks dominions was lawfull or not; and, Whether this warre was not onely *operæ* but *vitæ pretium*, worth the losing so many lives; we referre the Reader to what

Anno Dom.

hath been ſaid in the * firſt book. Onely it will not be amiſſe, to adde a ſtorie or two out of an * Authour of good account. When Charles the ſixth was King of France, the Duke of Burbant ſailed over into Africa with a great armie, there to fight againſt the Saracens. The Saracen Prince ſent an herald to know of him the cauſe of his coming: The Duke anſwered, it was to revenge the death of Chriſt the Sonne of God, and true Prophet, whom they had unjuſtly crucified. The Saracens ſent back their meſſenger again to demonſtrate their innocencie, how they were not Saracens but Jews which put Chriſt to death, and therefore that the Chriſtians (if poſteritie ſhould be puniſhed for their predeceſſours fault) ſhould rather revenge themſelves on the Jews which lived amongſt them.

243

*Chap. 9, and 10.

* *Froiſſard, lib. 4. cap. 18, 19.*

* Another relateth, that in the yeare of our Lord 1453, the great Turk ſent a letter to the Pope, advertiſing him how he and his Turkiſh nation were not deſcended from the Jews, but from the Trojans, from whom alſo the Italians derive their pedegree, and ſo would prove himſelf a-kinne to his Holineſſe. Moreover he added, that it was both his and their dutie to repair the ruines of Troy, and to revenge the death of their great grand-father Hector upon the Grecians; to which end, the Turk ſaid he had already conquered a great part of Greece. As for Chriſt, he acknowledged him to have been a noble Prophet, and to have been crucified of the Jews, againſt whom the Chriſtians might ſeek their remedie. Theſe two ſtories I thought good to inſert, becauſe though of later date, and ſince the Holy warre in Paleſtine was ended, yet they have ſome reference thereunto, becauſe ſome make that our quarrel to the Turks.

* *Monſtrell. lib. 3. cap. 68.*

But grant the Chriſtians right to the Turks lands to be lawfull, and the cauſe in it ſelf enough deſerving to ground a warre upon: yet in the proſecuting and managing thereof, many not onely veniall errours but unexcuſable faults were committed; no doubt, the cauſe of the ill ſucceſſe.

To omit the book called the Office of our Lady, made at the beginning of this warre to procure her favourable aſſiſtance in it (a little manual, but full of blaſphemies in *folio*, thruſting her with importunate ſuperſtitions into Gods throne, and forcing on her the glory of her Maker;) ſuperſtition not onely tainted the rind, but rotted the core of this whole action. Indeed moſt of the pottage of that age taſted of that wild gourd. Yet farre be it from us to condemn all their works to be droſſe, becauſe debaſed and allayed with ſuperſtitious intents: No doubt there was a mixture of much good metall in them, which God the good refiner knoweth how to ſever, and then

244

then will crown and reward. But here we must distinguish betwixt those deeds which have some superstition in them, and those which in their nature are wholly superstitious, such as this Voyage of people to Palestine was. For what opinion had they of themselves herein, who thought that by dying in this warre, they did make Christ amends for his death? as one saith: Which if but a rhetoricall flourish, yet doth hyperbolize into blasphemie. Yea, it was their very judgement, that hereby they did both merit and supererogate; and by dying for the Crosse, crosse the score of their own sinnes and score up God for their debtour. But this flieth high, and therefore we leave it for others to follow. Let us look upon Pilgrimages in generall, and we shall find Pilgrimes wandring not so farre from their own countrey as from the judgement of the ancient Fathers. *Anno Dom.*

We will leave our armie at home, and onely bring forth our champion: Heare what * Gregorie Nyssene saith, who lived in the fourth Centurie, in which time voluntary Pilgrimages first began; though before there were necessarie Pilgrimes, forced to wander from their countrey by persecution. Where, saith he, our Lord pronounceth men blessed, he reckoneth not going to Jerusalem to be amongst those good deeds which direct to happinesse. And afterwards, speaking of the going of single-women in those long travels; A woman, saith he, cannot go such long journeys without a man to conduct her; and then whatsoever we may suppose, whether she hireth a stranger or hath a friend to wait on her, on neither side can she escape reproof, and keep the law of continencie. Moreover; If there were more Divine grace in the places of Jerusalem, sinne would not be so frequent and customarie amongst those that live there: Now there is no kind of uncleanesse which there they dare not commit; malice, adultery, thefts, idolatrie, poysonings, envies and slaughters. But you will say unto me, If it be not worth the pains, why then did you go to Jerusalem? Let them heare therefore how I defend my self: I was appointed to go into Arabia to an holy Councel, held for the reforming of that Church: and Arabia being neare to Jerusalem, I promised those that went with me, that I would go to Jerusalem to discourse with them which were presidents of the churches there; where matters were in a very troubled state, and they wanted one to be a mediatour in their discords. We knew that Christ was a man born of a Virgin, before we saw Bethlehem; we beleeved his resurrection from death, before we saw his sepulchre; we confessed his ascension into heaven, before we saw mount Olivet: But we got so much profit by our journey, that by comparing them,

* *Epist. seu Orat. de iis qui adeunt Hierosol. Edit. Gr. Lat. Parisiis, 1615.*

Anno Dom.

them, we found * our own more holy then thoſe outward things. Wherefore you that fear God, praiſe him in what place you are. Change of place maketh not God nearer unto us: whereſoever thou art, God will come to thee, if the Inne of thy ſoul be found ſuch, as the Lord may dwell and walk in thee, &c.

245
* Τὰ ἡμέτερα τῶν ἔξω πολὺ ἁγιώτερα.

A patrone of Pilgrimages not able to void the blow yet willing to break the ſtroke of ſo pregnant and plain a teſtimonie, thus ſeeketh to ward it; That indeed Pilgrimages are unfitting for women, yet fitting for men. But ſure God never appointed ſuch means to heighten devotion neceſſary thereunto, whereof the half of mankind (all women) are by their very creation made uncapable.

Secondly, he pleadeth, That it is lawfull for ſecular and laymen to go on Pilgrimages, but not for Friars, who lived recluſe in their cells, out of which they were not to come: and againſt ſuch (ſaith he) is Nyſſens ſpeech directed. But then, I pray, what was Peter, the leader of this long dance, but an Hermite? and (if I miſtake not) his profeſſion was the very dungeon of the Monaſticall priſon, the ſtricteſt and ſevereſt of all other Orders. And though there were not ſo many cowls as helmets in this warre, yet alwayes was the Holy armie well ſtocked with ſuch cattel: So that on all ſides it is confeſſed that the Pilgrimages of ſuch perſons were utterly unlawfull.

Chap. 10.

Of ſuperſtition in miracles in the Holy warre, ranked into foure ſorts.

BEſides ſuperſtition inherent in this Holy warre, there was alſo ſuperſtition appendant or annexed thereunto, in that it was the fruitfull mother of many feigned miracles. Hitherto we have refrained to ſcatter over our ſtorie with them; it will not be amiſſe now to ſhovel up ſome of them in a heap.

* One Peter (not the Hermite) found out the lance wherewith Chriſt was pierced: & to approve the truth thereof againſt ſome who queſtioned him herein, on Palm-ſunday taking the lance in his hand, he walked through a mightie fire without any harm: but it ſeemeth he was not his crafts-maſter, for he died ſoon after.

* *M. Pariſ. in anno* 1099.

* An image of our Lady brought from Jeruſalem, but ſet up

* *Idem.*

246

up neare Damascus, began by degrees to be clothed with flesh, and to put forth breasts of flesh, out of which a liquour did constantly flow: Which liquour the Templars carried home to their houses, and distributed it to the Pilgrimes which came to them, that they might report the honour thereof through the whole world. *Anno Dom.*

* *M. Paris.* * A Sultan of Damascus who had but one eye, chanced to lose the other, and so became stark-blind; when coming devoutly to this image, though he was a Pagan, having faith in God, and confidence therein, he perfectly was restored to his sight.

Infinite are the sholes of miracles done by Christs Crosse in Jerusalem; insomuch that my * Authour blamed the Bishop of Acon, who carried the Crosse in that battel wherein it was lost to the Turks, for wearing a corselet; and therefore (saith he) he was justly slain: becaus his weak faith relied on means, not on the miraculous protection thereof.

* *Roger Hoveden, in anno 1187.*

When Conrade Landt-grave of Thuringia was inrolled in the Teutonick Order to go to the Holy warre, and received his benediction (as the fashion was) the * Holy Ghost visibly descended upon him in the shape of fire. The said Conrade received of God as a boon for his valour in this service, the rare facultie, * That by looking on any man he could tell whether or no he had committed a mortall sinne, yea, at first sight descrie their secret sinnes.

* *Nauclerus, Gen. 42.*

* *Chron. Pruten.*

But the last miracle of our Lady in Palestine is the Lady of all miracles; which was this: In the yeare 1291, when the Holy land was finally subdued by the Turks, the chamber at Nazareth wherein the Angel Gabriel saluted her with joyfull tidings, was wonderfully * transported into Sclavonia. That countrey being unworthy of her divine presence, it was by the Angels carried over into Italie, *anno* 1294. That place also being infested with theeves and pirates, the Angels removed it to the little village of Loretto; where this Pilgrime-Chappel resteth it self at this day, and liketh her entertainment so well, it will travel no further.

* *Spondanus, in anno 1291.*

But enough: for fools meat is unsavourie to the tast of the wise. I have transgressed already: two instances had been sufficient (as Noah preserved but two of all unclean creatures) the rest might be lost without losse, and safely be drowned in oblivion. How-ever, we may observe these millions of miracles are reducible to one of these foure ranks:

1. Falsely reported, never so much as seemingly done. Asia the theatre whereon they were acted, is at a great distance, and the miracles as farre from truth, as the place from us. And who knoweth not, when a lie is once set on foot, besides the first

Anno Dom.

first founders, it meeteth with many benefactours, who contribute their charitie thereunto.

2. Falsely done; insomuch as at this day, they are * sented amongst the Romanists. Who would not laugh to see the picture of a Saint weep? Where one devout Catholick lifteth up his eyes, ten of their wiser sort wag their heads.

3. Truly done, but by the strength of nature. Suppose one desperately sick, a piece of the Crosse is applied to him, he recovereth; is this a miracle? Nothing lesse; how many thousands have made an escape after Death in a manner hath arrested them? As therefore it is sacriledge, to father Gods immediate works on naturall causes; so it is superstition, to intitle naturall events to be miraculous.

4. Many miracles were ascribed to Saints which were done by Satan. I know it will *non-plus* his power to work a true miracle; but I take the word at large: and indeed vulgar (not to say, humane) eyes are too dimme to discern betwixt things wonderfull and truly miraculous. Now Satan, the master-juggler needeth no wires or ginnes to work with, being all ginnes himself; so transcendent is the activitie of a spirit. Nay, may not God give the Devil leave to go beyond himself; it being just with him, that those who will not have Truth their king and willingly obey it, should have Falshood their tyrant to whom their judgement should be captivated and inslaved.

* Miracula, si piâ utilitate aut necessitate careant, de facto suspecta sunt & rejicienda, *Gerson.*

Chap. 11.

The second grand errour in prosecuting the Holy warre, being the Christians notorious breaking their faith with Infidels.

NExt unto Superstition, which was deeply inlayed in the Holy warre, we may make the Christians Truce-breaking with the Infidels the second cause of their ill successe. Yet never but once did they break promise with the Turks; which was (as I may say) a constant and continued faith-breaking, never keeping their word. To omit severall straining of the sinews and unjoynting the bones of many a solemn peace, we will onely instance where the neck thereof was clearly broken a sunder.

1. When Godfrey first won Jerusalem, pardon was proclaimed to all the Turks which yeelded themselves; yet three dayes

248 after in cold bloud, they were all, without difference of age or ſex, put to the ſword. *Anno Dom.*

2. Almerick the firſt ſwore, effectually to aſſiſt the Saracens in driving the Turks out of Egypt; and ſoon after invaded Egypt, and warred upon the Turks againſt his promiſe. I know ſomething he pretended herein to defend himſelf, but of no validitie; and ſuch plauſible and curious wittie evaſions to avoyd perjurie, are but the tying of a moſt artificiall knot in the halter, therewith to ſtrangle ones own conſcience.

3. There was a peace concluded for ſome time betwixt King Guy and Saladine; which *non obſtante*, Reinold of Caſtile robbed Saladines own mother: Whereupon followed the miſerable overthrow of the Chriſtians, and taking of Jeruſalem.

4. Our Richard, at his departure from Paleſtine, made a firm peace for five yeares with Saladine, and it ſtood yet in force when Henry Duke of Saxonie coming with a great armie of new adventurers invaded the Turkiſh dominions.

5. Frederick the ſecond, Emperour, made a truce of ten yeares with the Sultan of Babylon; and yet in deſpite thereof, Theobald King of Navarre forraged the countrey of Gaza, to the juſt overthrow of him and his armie.

6. Reinold Vice-roy of Paleſtine, in the name of Frederick the Emperour, and after him our Richard Earl of Cornwall, drew up a firm peace with the ſaid Sultan; which was inſtantly diſturbed and interrupted by the turbulent Templars.

7. Laſtly, the Venetians, in the name of all Chriſtian Princes, concluded a five yeares peace with Alphir the Mammaluke Prince of Egypt; yet ſome voluntaries in Ptolemais pillaged and robbed many Saracen merchants about the citie. But pardon them this laſt fault, we will promiſe they ſhall never do ſo any more in Paleſtine, hereupon loſing all they had left there.

And how could Safetie it ſelf ſave this people, and bleſſe this project ſo blackly blaſted with perjury! As it is obſerved of tyrants, Where one goeth, ten are ſent to the grave; ſo where one truce concluded with the Turks did naturally expire and determine, many were violently broken off. A ſinne ſo repugnant to all morall honeſtie, ſo injurious to the quiet & peace of the world, ſo odious in it ſelf, ſo ſcandalous to all men, To diſſolve a league when confirmed by Oath (the ſtrongeſt bond of conſcience, the end of particular ſtrife, the ſoulder of publick peace, the ſole aſſurance of amitie betwixt divers nations, made here below, but inrolled in his high court whoſe glorious name doth ſigne it;) a ſinne, I ſay, ſo hainous, that God cannot but moſt ſeverely puniſh it. David asketh, *Who ſhall reſt upon thy holy hill?* and anſwereth himſelf, *He that ſweareth to his neighbour,*

Pſal. 15.

Anno Dom.

bour, and disappointeth him not, though it were to his own hindrance. No wonder then, though the Christians had no longer abidance in the Holy hill of Palestine (though this, I confesse, is but the bark of the text) driving that trade wherewith none ever thrived, the breaking of promises: Wherewith one may for a while fairly spread his train, but he will moult his feathers soon after.

Chap. 12.

Of the hindrances of the good successe in the Holy warre; whereof the Popes, and Emperours of Greece, were the two principall.

SO much concerning those *læsa principia* in this Holy warre, Superstition and Perjurie, which struck at the root of it. Come we now to consider many other hindrances, which abated the good successe thereof. Amongst these we will not be so hereticall as to denie the Popes Primacie; but account him the first cause of their ill successe. Such wounds as we find in his credit, we will neither widen nor close up; but even present them to the Reader as we found them. In foure respects he baned the Christians good speed in this warre:

1. He caused most of their truce-breaking with the Turks, urging men thereunto. Thus Pope Celestine drove on the Christians against the Turks, whilest as yet the peace our Richard concluded with them was not expired; and so many other times also. For alas! this was nothing with his Holinesse; who sitting in the temple of God, so farre advanceth himself above God, as to dispense with oathes made sacred by the most holy and high name of God; and professing himself the sole Umpire and Peace-maker of the world, doth cut asunder those onely sinews which hold peace together.

2. In that twice the Kingdome of Jerusalem was offered to the Christians, and the Popes Legates would not suffer them to accept it: (No doubt, by instructions from their Master; this being to be presumed on, That those his absolute creatures altered not a tittle, but went according to the copie that was set them) Once *anno* 1219; when Pelagius the Legate refused the free offer of Melechsala: And the second time, some thirtie yeares after; when the same bountifull profer was refused by Odo the Popes Legate: For when the same Melechsala again offered the free resignation of the whole Kingdome of Jeru-

250

* *M. Pariſ. pag.* 1047. Huic pacis formæ ex Papæ mandato rebellis erat Legatus, & frontosè contradicens, &c.

ſalem, whereby the ſame day great quietneſſe had entred into all Chriſtendome, with the end of much bloudſhed and miſerie; the Legate * *frontosè contradicens*, would in no wiſe receive the conditions offered. *Anno Dom.*

3. Frederick the ſecond, Emperour, was poſſeſſed of it; when the Pope moleſted him, and ſtirred up the Templars againſt him, as ſo many needles to prick him when he was to ſit down on the throne.

4. By diverting the Pilgrimes, and over-titling his own quarrels to be Gods cauſe; nothing being more common with him, then to employ thoſe armies which were levied for the Holy warre, in ſubduing the Albingenſes and many others of his private enemies.

By all theſe it plainly appeareth, That what fair ſhews ſoever his Holineſſe made, calling Councels, appointing Legates, providing preachers, proclaiming pardons, to advance this warre; yet in very deed, he neither intended nor deſired that the Chriſtians ſhould make a finall conqueſt of Paleſtine, but be imployed in continuall conquering it. He would have this warre go on *cum decente pauſa*, fair and ſoftly: let the Chriſtians now beat the Turks, and then the Turks beat the Chriſtians; and ſo let them take their turns, whileſt his private profit went on. For (as we touched before) to this warre the Pope condemned all dangerous perſons (eſpecially the Emperours of Germanie) to be there imployed. As little children are often ſet to ſchool, not ſo much to learn, as to keep them out of harms way at home: ſo this carefull Father ſent many of his children to the Holy warre, not for any good he knew they would either do or get there, but it would keep them from worſe doing; which otherwiſe would have been paddling in that puddle, raking in that channel, ſtirring up queſtions and controverſies unſavourie in the noſtrils of his Holineſſe, and perchance falling into the fire of diſcord and diſſenſion againſt their own Father. Indeed at laſt this warre ended it ſelf in deſpite of the Pope: Who no doubt would have driven this web (weaving and unweaving it, Penelope-like) much longer if he could: yet he digeſted more patiently the ending thereof, becauſe the net might be taken away when the fiſh was already caught, and the warre ſpared now the Germane Emperours ſtrength thereby was ſufficiently abated in Italie.

Much alſo this warre increaſed the *intrado* of the Popes revenues. Some ſay, Purgatory-fire heateth his kitchin: they may adde, the Holy warre filled his pot, if not paid for all his ſecond courſe. It is land enough, to have the office of collecting the contributions of all Chriſtendome given to this warre.

Anno Dom.

warre. So much for his great receits hereby. And as for what he expended, not too farre in the point. If the Pope (saith * their law) thrusteth thousands of souls into Hell, none may say to him, Why doest thou so? It is presumption then to make him answer for money, who is not accountable for men.

* *Dist.* 40. *can.* Si Papa suæ & fraternæ salutis negligens.

With the Pope let the Emperours of Greece their Jealousie go, as the second bane of the Christians successe in this warre. These Emperours tormented themselves in seeking that they would have been loth to find, the treacherie of the Latines; and therefore to begin first, used them with all treacherie: Whereof, largely * formerly. And surely, though a cautious circumspection be commendable in Princes; yet in such over-fear, they were no lesse injurious to themselves then to the western Pilgrimes. Yea generally, suspiciousnesse is as great an enemy to wisdome, as too much credulitie; it doing oftentimes as hurtfull wrong to friends, as the other doth receive wrongfull hurt from dissemblers.

* *Book* 2. *chap.* 9, 27.

Chap. 13.

The third hindrance, the Equalitie of the undertakers; the fourth, the Length of the journey.

THe next cause of their ill successe was the discord arising from the paritie of the Princes which undertook this voyage. Many of them could abide no equall; all, no superiour: so that they had no chief, or rather were all chiefs: The swarm wanted a master-Bee, a supreme commander, who should aw them all into obedience. The Germane Emperour (though above all) came but seldome, and was not constant amongst them: The King of Jerusalem (especially in the declining of the State) was rather sleighted then feared: The Popes Legate usurped a superioritie, but was never willingly nor generally obeyed. Surely smaller forces being united under one command would have been more effectuall in proof (though not so promising in opinion and fame) then these great armies variously compounded by associations and leagues, and of the confluence of Princes otherwise unconcurring in their severall courses.

Livie writing of that great battel (the criticall day of the worlds Empire) betwixt Hannibal & Scipio, * It is small, saith he, to speak of, yet of much moment in the matter it self, that when the

* *Lib.* 30.

252

the armies joyned, the ſhouting of the Romanes was farre more great and terrible, as being all of one voice from the ſame nation; whileſt Hannibals ſouldiers voices were different and diſagreeing, as conſiſting of ſeverall languages. If ſuch a toy be conſiderable, and differing in tongues leſſeneth the terribleneſſe in an armie; how doth diſſenting in hearts and affections abate the force thereof? and what advantage had the united Turks againſt divided Chriſtian Princes which managed this warre? Had the emulation betwixt thoſe equall Princes onely been ſuch as is the ſpurre of vertue, farre from enmitie and hatefull contention, ſtriving with good deſerts to outſtrip thoſe who by the ſame means ſought to attain to the like end; had it been mixed with love in regard of the affinitie of their affections and ſympathie of their deſires, not ſeeking the ruine of their competitour but ſuccouring him in danger; then ſuch *ſimultates* had been both honourable and uſefull to the advancing of the Holy cauſe: But on the other ſide, their affections were ſo violent, and diſpoſitions ſo crooked, that emulation in them boyled to hatred, that to malice, which reſted better ſatisfied with the miſerable end of their oppoſite partner, then with any tropheys deſervedly erected to their own honour. And herein the warres betwixt the Venetians and Genoans in Syria are too pregnant an inſtance.

Anno Dom.

The length of the journey ſucceedeth as the fourth impediment. There needed no other hindrance to this voyage then the voyage; the way was ſo long. In ſenſation, the object muſt not be over-diſtant from the ſenſe; otherwiſe Lynceus eyes may ſee nothing: So it is requiſite in warlike adventures, that the work be not too farre from the undertakers. Indeed the Romanes conquered countreys farre from home: but the lands betwixt them were their own, wherein they refreſhed themſelves; and well may one lift a great weight at arms end if he hath a reſt to ſtay his elbow on. So though Spain hath ſubdued much in the Indies, yet there they met with none or naked reſiſtance. It fared not thus with the Chriſtians in this warre: By the tediouſneſſe of the journey their ſtrength was exhauſted; they ranne dregs when firſt they were broched in Syria, and as it were ſcattered their powder in preſenting, before they came to diſcharge.

Frederick Barbaroſſa wrote a braving letter to Saladine, reckoning up the ſeverall nations in Europe under his command, and boaſting what an armie of them he would bring into Syria. * Saladine anſwered him, That he alſo ruled over as many peoples, and told him, that there was no ſea which hindred his men from coming quickly together; whereas, ſaith he, you have a great ſea, over which with pains and danger

* *M. Pariſ. pag. 197.*

Anno Dom.

ger you must passe before you can bring your men hither. Besides, if the Christians shaped their journey by land, then their miseries in Hungarie, Grecia, and Asia the lesse, made their land-journey more tedious and troublesome then if they had gone by sea.

Chap. 14.

The fifth impediment, Clergie-men being Captains.

THat Prelates and Clergie-men were often Generalls in this action (as Peter the Hermite, Pelagius the Cardinall, and many others) was another cause of their ill successe: For allow them able in their own way, for matter of learning, yet were they unsufficient to manage martiall affairs. Many who in England have learned the French tongue, and afterwards have gone over into France, have found themselves both deaf and dumbe in effect, neither hearing to understand nor speaking to be understood: They in like manner who frame to themselves in their studies a model of leading an armie, find it as full of errours as rules when it cometh to be applied; and a measure of warre taken by book, falleth out either too long or too short, when brought into the field to be used.

I have heard a storie of a great map-monger, who undertook to travel over England by help of his maps, without asking the least direction of any he met. Long he had not ridden but he met with a *non plus ultrà*, a deep unpassable gullet of water, without bridge, ford, or ferry. This water was as unknown to his Camdens or Speeds maps as to himself; because it was neither body nor branch of any constant river or brook (such as onely are visible in maps) but an *ex-tempore*-water, flowing from the snow which melted on hills. Worse unexpected accidents surprise those who conceive themselves to have conned all martiall maximes out of Authours, and warrant their skill in warre against all events out of their great reading; when on the sudden some unwonted occurrent taketh them unprovided, standing amazed till destruction seiseth on them.

Indeed, sometimes such unlooked-for chances arrest even the best and most experienced Generalls, which have long been acquainted with warre; nor are they priviledged by all their experience from such casualties, nor are they so omniscient but that their skill may be posed therewith, a minute shewing sometimes what an age hath not seen before: But

254 then such aged commanders have this advantage, that finding themselves at a fault, they can soonest know where to beat about and recover it. *Anno Dom.*

Adde to the inabilitie, the incongruitie of Prelates going to fight. True, in defensive warres necessitie is their sufficient dispensation; but otherwise it is improper. In the battel against Amalek, Josua fought; Moses prayed; the Levites bare the ark, no office of command in the Camp. And better it had been that Cardinall Columna had been at his beads, or in his bed, or any where else, then in the camp in Egypt; where by his indiscreet counsel he brought all the lives of the Christians into danger.

Chap. 15.

The sixth hindrance, the Diversitie of the climate disagreeing with the bodies of Europe; And what weakeneth Northern men going Southward.

NOw followeth the Diversitie of the climate, which caused the death of many thousands of the Christians, sweeping them away with horrible plagues and other diseases. For even as men when they come into a new Corporation, must pay their fees before they can be freemen thereof and set up trading therein; so it alwayes cost the Christians of Europe a dangerous sickness at least, before they could be well acquainted with the aire and climate of Palestine.

Amongst other diseases the Leprosie was one epidemicall infection which tainted the Pilgrimes coming thither. This (though most rife in our Saviours time, God so ordering it that Judea was sickest while her Physician was neareſt) at this time of the Holy warre was very dangerous. Hence was it brought over into England (never before known in this Island) and many Lazar-houses erected for the relief of those infected therewith: Their chief house was at Burton-lazars in Leicester-shire. I say not, as this disease began with the Holy warre in England, so it ended with it: Sure such hath been Gods goodnesse, that few at this day are afflicted therewith; and the leprosie of Leprosie, I mean the contagion thereof, in this cold countrey is much abated.

Many other sicknesses seised on the Pilgrimes there, especially in summer. The Turks, like Salamanders, could live in that fiery

Anno Dom.

fiery countrey, whose scorching our Northern bodies could not endure. Yea, long before I find it observed by Vitruvius, that they who come cold into hot countreys, cannot long subsist, but are dissolved; whilest those that change out of hot into cold, find not onely no distemper and sickness by the alteration, but also grow more healthfull, solid, and compacted: But this perchance is easilyer said then maintained.

But let us not hereupon be disheartened to set on our Southern foes for fear to be impaired, nor they invited to invade us by hope to be improved. Know, it is not so much the climate, as bad and unwholesome diet inraging the climate against us, which unsineweth those Northern nations when they come into the South: Which bad diet, though sometimes necessary for want of better food, yet is most-times voluntary through mens wilfull intemperance. In the Portugall action *anno* 1589, more English owed their Calenture to the heat of wine then weather. Why do our English merchants bodies fadge well enough in Southern aire? why cannot our valour thrive as well there as our profit; but chiefly for this, That merchants are carefull of themselves, whilest souldiers count it baseness to be thriftie of their own healths?

Besides, the sinnes of the South unmasculate Northern bodies. In hot countreys the Sirens of pleasure sing the sweetest, which quickly ravish our eares unused to such musick. But should we marching Southwards observe our health in some proportion of temperance, and by degrees habituate our selves to the climate; and should we keep our souls from their sinnes, no doubt the North might pierce the South as farre, and therein erect as high and long-lasting tropheys, as ever the South did in the North.

Nor must it have admittance without examination into a judicious breast, what some have observed; That Northern people never enjoyed any durable settled government in the South. Experience avoweth they are more happie in speedie conquering then in long enjoying of countreys.

But the first Monarch the world ever knew (I mean, the Assyrian) came from the North: Whence he is so often styled in Scripture, The King of the North; conquering, and for many yeares enjoying those countreys which lie betwixt him and the sunne; as Chaldea, Mesopotamia, Babylonia, Syria, Egypt: To speak nothing of the Turks, who in the dichotomizing of the world fall under the Northern part, and coming out of Scythia at first subdued most Southern countreys.

256

Anno Dom.

Chap. 16.

The ſeventh impediment, the Vitiouſneſſe of the undertakers.

THus are we fallen on the next hindrance of ſucceſſe in this Holy warre, the Vitiouſneſſe of the undertakers. But here firſt we muſt make an honourable reſervation for many adventurers herein, whom we confeſſe moſt pious and religious perſons. Let us not raiſe the opinion of our own pietie by trampling on our predeceſſours, as if this age had monopolized all goodneſſe to it ſelf. Some no doubt moſt religious and truly valiant (as fearing nothing but ſinne) engaged themſelves in this action; of whom I could onely wiſh, that their zeal herein had either had more light or leſſe heat. But with theſe, I ſay not how many, but too many went moſt wicked people, the cauſers of the ill ſucceſſe.

It will be objected, *Sanctitas morum* hath been made of ſome a note of the true Church, never the ſigne of a fortunate armie: Look on all armies generally, we ſhall find them of the ſouldiers religion, not troubled with over-much preciſeneſſe: As our King John ſaid, (whether wittily or wickedly, let others judge) That the Buck he opened was fat, yet never heard Maſſe: ſo many ſouldiers have been ſucceſſefull without the leaſt ſmack of pietie; ſome ſuch deſperate villains, that fortune (to erroneous judgements) may ſeem to have favoured them for fear.

True: but we muſt not conſider theſe adventurers as plain and mere ſouldiers, but as Pilgrimes and Gods armie; in whom was required, and from whom was expected more pietie and puritie of life and manners then in ordinarie men: whereas on the contrarie, we ſhall make it appear, that they were more vitious then the common ſort of men. Nor do we this out of crueltie or wantonneſſe, to wound and mangle the memorie of the dead; but to anatomize and open their ulcerous inſides, that the dead may teach the living, and leſſon poſteritie.

Beſides thoſe that went, many were either driven or fled to the Holy land. Thoſe were driven, who having committed ſome * horrible ſinne in Europe, had this penance impoſed on them, To travel to Jeruſalem to expiate their faults. Many a whore was ſent thither to find her virginitie: Many a murderer was enjoyned to fight in the Holy warre, to waſh off the guilt of Chriſtian bloud by ſhedding bloud of Turks. The like was in all other offenſes; malefactours were ſent hither to ſatisfie for their former wickedneſſe. Now God forbid we ſhould condemn

* Totum vulgus, tam caſti quàm inceſti, adulteri, homicidæ, perjuri, prædones, *Albertus Aquenſis, Chron. Hieroſol. lib. 1. cap. 2. Beſoldus, pag. 101. ex Brochardo*, Malefactor deprehenſus, homicida, latro, fur, inceſtuoſus, adulter, fornicator, timet à judice condignam pœnam, & transfretat in terram Sanctam.

Anno Dom.

demn them, if truly penitents, for impious. May he who speaketh againſt penitents, never have the honour to be one; ſince Repentance is the younger brother to Innocence it ſelf. But we find that many of them reverted to their former wickedneſſe: they loſt none of their old faults and got many new, mending in this hot countrey as ſowre ale in ſummer. Others fled hither, who having ſupererogated the gallows in their own countreys by their ſeverall miſdemeanours, theft, rapes, inceſt, murders, to avoid the ſtroke of Juſtice, protected themſelves under this voyage; and coming to Paleſtine, ſo profited in thoſe Eaſtern ſchools of vices, that they learned to be more artificially wicked. This plainly appeareth, as in ſundrie other Authours, ſo chiefly in Tyrius, a witneſſe beyond exception, who * often complaineth hereof. And if we value teſtimonies rather by the weight then number, we muſt credit ſo grave a man, who writeth it with grief, and had no doubt as much water in his eyes as ink in his pen, and ſurely would be thankfull to him that herein would prove him a liar.

257

* *Eſpecially in the end of King Almericks life.*

Chap. 17.

The eighth hindrance, the Treacherie of the Templars; Of Sacriledge alledged by Baronius, the cauſe of the ill ſucceſſe.

RObert Earl of Artois upbraided the Maſter of the Templars, That it was the common ſpeech, that the Holy land long ſince had been wonne, but for the falſe colluſion of the Templars and Hoſpitallers with the Infidels: Which words, though proceeding from paſſion in him yet from premeditation in others, not made by him but related, deſerve to be obſerved the rather, becauſe common reports (like ſmoke, ſeldome but from ſome fire, never but from much heat) are generally true. It is not to be denied, but that both theſe Orders were guiltie herein, as appeareth by the whole current of the ſtorie. Yea, King Almerick fairly truſſed up twelve Templars at once, * hanging them for delivering up an impregnable fort to Syracon. Theſe like a deceitfull chirurgeon, who hath more corruption in himſelf then the ſore he dreſſeth, prolonged the cure for their private profit; and this Holy warre being the trade whereby they got their gains, they lengthened it out to the utmoſt: So that their Treacherie may paſſe for the eighth impediment.

* *Tyrius, lib. 19. cap. 11.*

Anno Dom.

258 * *Annal. Eccleſiaſt. in anno* 1100, & 1104.

Baronius * concludeth this one principall cauſe of the Chriſtians ill ſucceſſe, That the Kings of Jeruſalem took away that citie from the Patriarchs thereof, herein committing ſacriledge, a ſinne ſo hainous, that malice it ſelf cannot wiſh an enemy guilty of a worſe. But whether or no this was ſacriledge, we referre the reader to what hath been largely diſcuſſed before.

And here I could wiſh to be an auditour at the learned and unpartiall arguing of this queſtion, Whether over-great donations to the Church may not afterwards be revoked? On the one ſide it would be pleaded, who ſhould be judge of the over-greatneſſe, ſeeing too many are ſo narrow-hearted to the Church, they count any thing too large for it; yea, ſome would cut off the fleſh of the Churches neceſſary maintenance, under pretenſe to cure her of a tympanie of ſuperfluities. Beſides, it would be alledged, What once hath been beſtowed on pious uſes, muſt ever remain thereto: To give a thing and take a thing, is a play too childiſh for children; much leſſe muſt God be mocked therewith, in reſuming what hath been conferred upon him. It would be argued on the other ſide, That when Kings do perceive the Church readie to devoure the Commonwealth by vaſt and unlimited donations unto it, and Clergie-men grown to ſuſpicious greatneſſe, armed with hurtfull and dangerous priviledges derogatorie to the royaltie of Princes; then, then it is high time for Princes to pare their overgrown greatneſſe. But this high pitch we leave to ſtronger wings: Sure I am in another kind, this Holy warre was guiltie of ſacriledge, and for which it thrived no whit the better; in that the Pope exempted ſix and twentie thouſand manours in Europe, belonging to the Templars and Hoſpitallers, from paying any tithes to the Prieſt of the pariſh; ſo that many a miniſter in England ſmarteth at this day for the Holy warre. And if this be not ſacriledge, to take away the dowrie of the Church without aſſuring her any joynture in lieu of it, I report my ſelf to any that have not the pearl of prejudice in the eye of their judgement.

Anno Dom.

Chap. 18.

Three grand faults in the Kingdome of Jeruſalem, hindring the ſtrength and puiſſance thereof.

COme we now to ſurvey the Kingdome of Jeruſalem in it ſelf: We will take it in its verticall point, in the beginning of Baldwine the third, when grown to the beſt ſtrength and beautie; yet even then had it ſome faults, whereby it was impoſſible ever long to ſubſiſt.

1. It lay farre from any true friend. On the Weſt it was bounded with the mid-land-ſea, but on all other ſides it was environed with an Ocean of foes, and was a countrey continually beſieged with enemies. One being to ſell his houſe, amongſt other commendations thereof, proclaimed, That his houſe had a very good neighbour; a thing indeed conſiderable in the purchaſe, and might advance the ſale thereof a yeares value: Sure I am, the Kingdome of Jeruſalem had no ſuch conveniencie, having bad neighbours round about: Cyprus indeed their friend lay within a dayes ſail; but alas! the Kings thereof had their hands full to defend themſelves, and could ſcarce ſpare a finger to help any other.

2. The Kingdome was farre extended, but not well compacted: all the bodie thereof ran out in arms and legs. Beſides that ground inhabited formerly by the twelve tribes, and properly called the Holy land; the Kingdome of Jeruſalem ranged Northward over all Celoſyria and Cilicia in the leſſer Aſia: North-eaſtward, it roved over the Principalities of Antioch and Edeſſa, even unto Carræ beyond Euphrates: Eaſtward, it poſſeſſed farre beyond Jordan the ſtrong fort of Cracci, with a great part of Arabia Petrea: Southward, it ſtretched to the entrance of Egypt. But as he is a ſtrong man, whoſe joynts are well ſet and knit together, not whom nature hath ſpunne out all in length and never thickened him; ſo it is the united and well compacted Kingdome entire in it ſelf which is ſtrong, not that which reacheth and ſtrideth the fartheſt. For in the midſt of the Kingdome of Jeruſalem lay the Kingdome of Damaſcus, like a canker feeding on the breaſt thereof: and clean through the Holy land, though the Chriſtians had many cities ſprinkled here and there, the Turks in other ſtrong holds continued mingled amongſt them.

3. Laſtly, (what we have touched once before) ſome ſubjects to the Kings of Jeruſalem, namely, the Princes of Antioch, Edeſſa and Tripoli, had too large and abſolute power and

260 and authoritie: They would do whatsoever the King would command them, if they thought good themselves. Now subjects should be Adjectives, not able to stand without (much lesse against) their Prince, or they will make but bad construction otherwise. *Anno Dom.*

These three hindrances in the Kingdome of Jerusalem added to the nine former, will complete a Jurie. Now if any one chance to censure one or two of them, let him not triumph therein; for we produce not these impediments severally but joyntly, not to fight single duells but all in an armie: *Non noceant quamvis singula, juncta nocent.*

Chap. 19.

What is to be conceived of the incredible numerousnesse of many armies mentioned in this storie.

FRequent mention hath been made through this Holy warre of many armies, as well Christian as Turkish, whose number of souldiers swell very great; so as it will not be amisse once for all to discusse the point concerning the numerousnesse of armies anciently. And herein we branch our opinion into these severals.

1. Asian armies are generally observed greater then those of Europe: There it is but a sucking and infant companie to have ten thousand; yea, under fiftie thousand no number. The reason of their multitude is, not that Asia is more populous, but more spatious then Europe. Christendome is enclosed into many small Kingdomes and free States; which severally can send forth no vast numbers, and seldome agree so well as to make a joynt collection of their forces: Asia lieth in common, in large countreys, and many of them united under one head. Besides, it is probable (especially in ancient times, as may be proved out of Scripture) that those Eastern countreys often spend their whole stock of men, and imploy all their arms-bearing people in their martiall service, not picking or culling them out, as we in Europe use to do.

2. Modern armies are farre lesse then those in former ages. The warre-*genius* of the world is altered now-a-dayes, and supplieth number with policie; the foxes skinne pieceth out the lions hide. Especially armies have been printed in a smaller letter since guns came up: One well-mounted cannon will spare

Anno Dom.

ſpare the preſence and play the part of a whole band in a battel.

3. Armies both of Europe, and chiefly in Aſia (as farther off) are reported farre greater then truth. Even as many old men uſe to ſet the clock of their age too faſt when once paſt ſeventie; and growing ten yeares in a twelve-moneth, are preſently foureſcore, yea, within a yeare or two after, climbe up to an hundred: So it is in relating the number of ſouldiers; if they exceed threeſcore and ten thouſand, then *ad rotunditatem numeri*, they are hoiſed up to an hundred, and then fiftie thouſand more caſt in for advantage. Not to ſpeak of the facil miſtake in figures; One telleth, at the firſt voyage of Pilgrimes there went forth * ſix hundred thouſand; * another counteth three hundred thouſand ſlain at the laſt taking of Ptolemais: their glib pennes making no more reckoning of men then of pinnes. We perchance may do juſtly in imitating the unjuſt ſteward, ſetting down in the bill of our belief but fifty for every hundred.

Nor is it any Paradox, but what will abide the touch, That competent forces of able and well-appointed and well-diſciplined ſouldiers under an experienced Generall, are farre more uſefull then ſuch an unweldie multitude. Little loadſtones will in proportion attract a greater quantitie of ſteel then thoſe which be farre greater, becauſe their poles are nearer together, and ſo their vertue more united: So ſhall we find braver atchievements by moderate armies, then by ſuch portentous and extravagant numbers. I never read of any miracle done by the ſtatue of S. Chriſtopher in Paris, though he be rather of a mountainlike then manlike bigneſſe. Yea, ſuch immoderate great armies are ſubject to great inconveniences. 1. They are not ſo eaſily manageable; and the commands of their Generall cool and loſe ſome vertue in paſſing ſo long a journey through ſo many. 2. It is improbable that ſo many thouſands can be heaped together, but the armie will be very heterogeneous, patched up of different people unſuiting in their manners; which muſt needs occaſion much cumbrance. 3. Theſe crowds of ſouldiers may hinder one another in their ſervice; as many at the ſame time preſſing out at a wicket. 4. Victuals for ſo many mouthes will not eaſily be provided; the proviſions of a countrey ſerving them but a meal, they muſt faſt afterwards. 5. Laſtly, ſuch great numbers (though this, I muſt confeſſe, is onely *per accidens*, yet often incident) beget careleſſeneſſe and confidence in them; as if they would not thank God for their victories, but conceive it a due debt owed to their multitudes. This hath induced ſome to the opinion to maintain, That a competent able armie

261

* *Malmesb. lib. 4. pag. 133. Sexagies (ſurely a miſtake for ſexies) centum millia.*
* *Lamp. Mellific. hiſt. pag. 313.*

262 of thirtie thouſand (which number Gonzaga that brave Generall did pitch on as ſufficient and complete) need not fear upon a paritie in all other reſpects, any companie whatſoever to come againſt them: ſuch are enough, being as good as a feaſt, and farre better then a ſurfet. *Anno Dom.*

Chap. 20.

Of the numberleſſe Chriſtians which loſt their lives in this ſervice.

XErxes viewing his armie, conſiſting of more then a million, from an high place all at a ſight, is ſaid to weep at the thought, That within an hundred yeares all thoſe would be mowed down with death: But what man could behold without flouds of tears, if preſented to him at one view, the infinites of people which loſt their lives in this action!

In the firſt voyage went forth (as the moſt conſcionable counters report) three hundred thouſand: Of theſe we can make the reader but ſpendthrifts accounts, All is gone, without ſhewing the particulars. For after the taking of Jeruſalem, this armie was drawn ſo low, that Godfrey being to fight with Ammiraviſſus the Egyptian, and bringing forth his whole ſtrength, had but twelve hundred horſe and nine thouſand foot left him. 1095 1099

Tyrius, lib. 9. cap. 12.

Urſperg. in Chron. pag. 239.

At the ſecond ſetting forth, of two hundred and fiftie thouſand led hither by Hugh brother to the King of France and ſundrie other Biſhops, not a thouſand came into Paleſtine.

In the third voyage, Conrade the Emperour led forth no fewer then two hundred thouſand foot and fiftie thouſand horſe; nor was the armie of King Lewis of France farre inferiour: Of whom ſuch as returned make no noiſe, as not conſiderable in number.

At the fourth ſetting forth, Frederick Barbaroſſa counted an hundred and fiftie thouſand ſouldiers in his armie: Of whom when they came to Ptolemais, no more then * eighteen hundred armed men remained.

** P. Æmyl. in Phil. Aug. pag. 175.*

Fifthly, what numbers were carried forth by our Richard the firſt and Philip of France, I find not ſpecified; no doubt they did bear proportion to the greatneſſe of the undertakers: All which at their return were conſumed to a very ſmall companie.

To omit ſeverall other intermediate actions of many Princes, who went forth with armies and ſcarce came home with families; King Lewis carried forth two and thirty thouſand: Of which

Anno Dom.

which onely six thousand came home, as their own writers report, who tell their tale as it may sound best for the credit of their countrey; whilest * others count eightie thousand to have lost their lives in that voyage: yea, * some reckon no fewer then an hundred thousand common men, besides seven Counts, to have died in Cyprus of the plague.

263

* *Knolls, Turk. hist. pag. 106.*
* *Magdeburg. Cent. 13. col. 606.*

* At his second voyage to Tunis, of an hundred and twentie ships which lay at anchor at Trape in Sicily, there were no more saved then the mariners of one onely French ship, and the thirteen ships of our Prince Edward; all the rest, with men, armour and munition did miserably perish.

* *Fox, in Martyrol. in Hen. 3. pag. 337.*

But enough of this dolefull subject. If young Physicians with the first fee for their practice are to purchase a new church-yard, Pope Urbane the second might well have bought some ground for graves when he first perswaded this bloudie project; whereby he made all Jerusalem, Golgotha, a place for sculls; and all the Holy land, Aceldama, a field of bloud.

Chap. 21.

The throne of Deserts: What nation merited most praise in this warre; And first of the French and Dutch service therein.

AS in the first book we welcomed each severall nation when they first entred into this service; so it is good manners now to take our solemn farewell of them at their going out, and to examine which of them deserved most commendation for their valour in this warre. And herein me thinketh the distinction usuall in some Colledges, of Founders, By-founders, and Benefactours, may properly take place. The Founders of this Holy warre, were the French; the By-founders, the Dutch, English, and Italian; the Benefactours (according to the different degrees of bountie) the Spanish, Polish, Danish, Scots, and all other people of Europe.

The French I make the Founders for these reasons: First, because they began the action first. Secondly, France in proportion sent most adventurers. Some voyages were all of French, and all voyages were of some French. Yea, French men were so frequent at Jerusalem, that at this day all Western Europeans there are called Franks (as I once conceived, and perchance not without companie in my errour) because so many French men came thither in the Holy warre. Since, I am converted from that false opinion, having found that two

264 **Vide M. Selden on Polyolbion, pag. 150.*

hundred yeares before the Holy warre was dreamed of, namely, in the time of Constantine * Porphyrogenetes Emperour of the East, all Western Christians were known to the Greeks by the name of *Franks*; so that it seemeth the Turks borrowed that appellation from the Grecians. Thirdly, As France sent the most, so many of most eminent note: She sheweth for the game no worse cards then a pair royall of Kings; Lewis the Young, Philip Augustus, and Saint Lewis; besides Philip the Bold his sonne, who went half-way to Tunis. The first and last Christian King of Europe that went to Palestine was a French man; and all the Kings of Jerusalem, Frederick the Emperour onely excepted, originally were of that nation. Fourthly, Even at this day France is most loyall to the cause. Most grand Masters of the Hospitallers have been French men: And at this day the Knights of Malta, who have but foure Albergies or Seminaries in all Christendome, have * three of them in France; viz. one of France in generall, one of Avergne, and one of Provence. Yet France carrieth not the upper hand so clearly but that Germanie justleth for it; especially if we adde to it the Low-countreys, the best stable of woodden horses, and most potent in shipping in that age of any countrey in Europe; which though an *amphibion* betwixt both, yet custome at this day adjudgeth it Dutch.

** Sandys Travels, pag. 229*

Now these are the severall accents of honour in the Germane service: First, That countrey sheweth three Emperours in the Holy warre; Conrade, Frederick Barbarossa, and Frederick the second. The last of these was solemnly crowned and peaceably possessed King of Jerusalem. Secondly, Germanie sent more Princes to this warre then all Europe besides. It would be an infinite task to reckon them all; it being true of the Germane Nobilitie what Logicians say of a *Line*, that it is *divisibilis in semper divisibilia*. Here honours equally descend to sonnes and daughters; whereby they have Counts without counting in the whole Empire: There were seventeen Princes of Henault, and seven and twentie Earls of Mansfield all living together: So that one of their own countreymen saith, That the Dutch esteem none to be men but onely such as are Noble-men. We will not take notice of Germanie as it is minced into pettie Principalities, but as cut into principall Provinces. We find these regnant Princes (for as for their younger brethren, herein they are not accounted) to have been personally present in the Holy warre:

Anno Dom.

Prince

Anno Dom.

Prince Palatine of Rhene,
Henry 1197
Duke (or as others, *King*) *of Bohemia,*
Jaboſlaus, or Ladiſlaus 1147
Duke of Saxonie,
Henry the younger 1197
Marqueſſe of Brandenburg,
Otho 1197
Archbiſhops of Mentz,
1 Conrade
2 Siphred 1197
Archbiſh. of Triers,
Theodoricus 1216
Archbiſh. of Colen,
Theodoricus 1216
Dukes of Auſtria,
1 Leopoldus the ſecond 1190
2 Frederick 1197
3 Leopoldus the third, ſurnamed the Glorious 1216
Dukes of Bavaria,
1 Guelpho 1101
2 Henry 1147
3 Lewis 1216
Landt-graves of Thuringia,
1 Herman 1197
2 Lewis 1227
Marqueſſe of Moravia,
Conrade 1197
Duke of Mechlenburg,
Henry 1277
Earls of Flandres,
1 Theodoricus 1147
2 Philippus 1190
3 Baldwine 1200
4 William Dampier 1250
5 Guido 1270
Dukes of Brabant,
1 Godfrey 1195
2 Henry 1227
Earl of Holland,
William 1216

All theſe (I ſay not, theſe were all) went themſelves, & led forth other companies ſuitable to their greatneſſe. The Reader, as he lighteth on more, at his leiſure may ſtrike them into this catalogue. Thirdly, Germanie maintained the Teutonick Order, wholly conſiſting of her nation; beſides Templars and Hoſpitallers, whereof ſhe had abundance: of whoſe loyall and valiant ſervice we have ſpoken largely before. Laſtly, She fought another Holy warre at the ſame time againſt the Tartars and other barbarous people, which invaded her on her North-eaſt-part. And though ſome will except, That that warre cannot be intituled Holy, becauſe being on the defenſive, it was rather of nature and neceſſitie then pietie: yet upon examination it will appear, that this ſervice was leſſe ſuperſtitious, more charitable to Chriſtendome, and more rationall and diſcreet in it ſelf; it being better husbandrie, to ſave a whole cloth in Europe, then to winne a ragge in Aſia.

266

Anno Dom.

Chap. 22.

The Engliſh and Italian ſervice compared; Of the Spaniſh, Poliſh, Norvegian, Hungarian, Daniſh, and Swediſh performance in this warre.

NExt in this race of honour follow England and Italie, being very even and hard-matched. England (it is no flatterie to affirm what envie cannot denie) ſpurreth up cloſe for the prize; and though ſhe had a great diſadvantage in the ſtarting (Italie being much nearer to Paleſtine) yet ſhe quickly recovered it. Our countrey ſent one King (Richard the firſt) and three Kings ſonnes (Robert Courthois, Richard of Cornwall, and Prince Edward) to this warre. Yea, England was a dayly friend to this action: and beſides theſe great and groſſe ſummes of viſible adventurers, ſhe dropped and caſt in privily many a Pilgrime of good qualitie; ſo that there was ſcarce any remarkable battel or memorable ſiege done through the warre wherein there were not ſome Engliſh of eminent deſert.

Yet Italy cometh not any whit behind, if the atchievements of her ſeverall States, Venetians, Genoans, Piſans, Sicilians, Florentines, were made and moulded up together: Yea, for ſea-ſervice and engineers in this warre, they bear the bell away from all other nations. But theſe things allay the Italian ſervice: 1. It was not ſo abſtracted from the dregs of mercinarineſſe as that of other countreys (whoſe adventurers counted their very work herein ſufficient wages) but before they would yeeld their aſſiſtance they indented and covenanted with the King of Jeruſalem to have ſuch and ſuch profits, penſions, and priviledges in all places they took, to them and their poſteritie; not as an honorarie reward freely conferred on them, but in nature of wages *ex pacto* contracted for aforehand: as the Genoans had in Ptolemais, and the Venetians in Tyre. 2. Theſe Italians ſtopped two gaps with one buſh: they were Merchant-Pilgrimes, & together applied themſelves to profit and pietie. Here in Tyre they had their banks, and did drive a ſweet trade of ſpices and other Eaſtern commodities. 3. Laſtly, As at firſt they gave good milk, ſo they kicked it down with their heel, and by their mutuall diſcord cauſed the loſſe of all they helped to gain in Syria.

Tyrius, lib. 10. cap. 28. & lib. 12. cap. 25.

Spain was exerciſed all the time of this warre in defending her ſelf againſt the Moores and Saracens in her own bowels: Yet ſuch was her charitie, that whileſt her own houſe was on burning

Anno Dom.

burning, she threw some buckets of water to quench her neighbours: and as other nations cast their superfluitie, she her widows mite into the treasurie of this action; and produceth two Theobalds Kings of Navarre, and Alphonse King of Castile, that undertook expeditions to Palestine.

Hungary sheweth one King, Andrew; who washed himself in Jordan, and then shrinking in the wetting returned presently home again. But this countrey, though it self did go little, yet was much gone through to the Holy warre (being the rode to Syria for all land-armies) and merited well in this action, in giving peaceable passage and courteous entertainment to Pilgrimes; as to Duke Godfrey, and Frederick Barbarossa, with all their souldiers as they travelled through it. Had the Kings of Hungarie had the same principle of baseneſſe in their souls as the Emperours of Grecia, they had had the same cause of jealousie against the Christians that passed this way; yet they used them most kindly, and disdained all dishonourable suspicions. True it is, at the first voyage, King Coloman, not out of crueltie but carefulnesse and necessarie securitie, did use his sword against some unruly and disorderly Pilgrimes: but none were there abused which first abused not themselves. But what-ever Hungarie was in that age, it is at this day Christendomes best land-bulwark against the Turks: Where this prettie custome is used, That the men wear so many feathers as they have killed Turks; which if observed elsewhere, either feathers would be lesse, or valour more in fashion.

1147 Poland could not stirre in this warre, as lying constant *perdue* of Christendome against the Tartarian; yet we find * Boleslaus Crispus Duke or King thereof (waiting on, shall I say? or) accompanying Conrade the Emperour in his voyage to Palestine; and having defraid all his and his armies costs and charges towards Constantinople, he returned home, as not to be spared in his own countrey. But if by King Davids * statute, the keepers of the baggage are to be sharers in the spoil with the fighters of the battel, then surely Poland and such other countreys may entitle themselves to the honour of the warre in Palestine, which in the mean time kept home, had an eye to the main chance, and defended Europe against forrein invaders.

* *Munst. Cosmog. in Polon.*

* 1. *Sam.* 30. 24.

Norway (in that age the spruceſt of the three Kingdomes of Scandia, and best tricked up with shipping; though at this day the case is altered with her, and she turned from taking to paying of tribute) sent her fleet of tall souldiers to Syria: who like good fellows, asked nothing for their work but their victuals, and valiantly wonne the citie of Sidon for the King of Jerusalem. And it is considerable, that Syria (but a step or stride

268

ſtride from Italie) was a long race from Norway; ſo that their Pilgrimes went not onely into another countrey but into another world. *Anno Dom.* 1145

Denmark was alſo partner in the foreſaid ſervice. Alſo afterwards, Ericus * her King, though he went not quite through to the Holy land, yet behaved himſelf bravely in Spain, and there aſſiſted the winning of Lisbon from the Infidels. His ſucceſſour * Canutus *anno* 1189, had provided his navie, but was prevented by death: his ſhips nevertheleſſe came to Syria.

Of Sweden in this grand-jurie of nations I heare no *Vous avez*; but her default of appearance hath been excuſed * before.

* *Vide Calviſium in anno* 1145. *& Jo. Magnum, Hiſt. Goth. lib.* 19. *cap.* 10.

* *Baronius, in anno* 1189.

* *Lib.* 1. *cap.* 13.

Chap. 23.

Of the Scottiſh, Welſh, and Iriſh, their ſeverall adventures.

THere remain behind the Scottiſh, Welſh, and Iriſh. It may occaſion ſuſpicion, that theſe nations either did neglect or are neglected in this Holy warre, becauſe clean through this Hiſtorie there is no mention of them or their atchievements. True it is, theſe countreys can boaſt of no King of their own ſent to Syria, nor of any great appearing ſervice by them alone performed. It ſeemeth then they did not ſo much play the game themſelves, as bet on the hands of others: and haply the Scottiſh ſervice is accounted to the French; the Welſh and Iriſh, to the Engliſh.

That Scotland was no ciphre in this warre, plainly appeareth; 1. In that * David, Earl of Huntington, and younger brother to William the Elder King of Scotland, went along with our Richard the firſt; no doubt ſuitably attended with ſouldiers. This David was by a tempeſt caſt into Egypt, taken captive by the Turks, bought by a Venetian, brought to Conſtantinople, there known and redeemed by an Engliſh merchant, and at laſt ſafely arrived at * Alectum in Scotland; which Alectum he in memorie and gratitude of his return called Dundee, or *Dei donum*, Gods gift. 2. By the plentifull proviſion which there was made for the Templars and Hoſpitallers: Who here enjoyed great priviledges; this amongſt many others, (Take the Scottiſh law in its pure naturals) That the Maſter of the Knicts of the Temple and cheefe Priors of the Hoſpitall of Jeruſalem (wha were keepers of ſtrangers to the Haly grave) ſould be receaved themſelves perſonally in any ſuit

* *Buchan. in Guilielmo Seniore.*

* *Hect. Boeth.*

Third book of Majeſt. cap. 18.

Anno Dom.

suit without entertaining a procuratour for them. Nor must we here forget a Saint, William a Scot, of Perth by birth, by trade a baker, in charitie so abundant that he gave his tenth loaf to the poore, in zeal so fervent that he vowed to visit the Holy land. But in his journey, as he passed through Kent, he was slain by his servant, buried at Rochester; afterwards Sainted, and shewed many miracles. *Lambert, Peramb. Kent.*

Neither may we think, whilest all other nations were at this Martiall school, that Wales the while truanted at home. The Welsh, saith my * Authour, left their forrests; and now with them no sport to the hunting of Turks: especially after that * Wizo and Walter his sonne, had founded the fair Commandrie for Hospitallers at Slebach in Pembroke-shire, and endowed it with rich revenues. ** W. Malms. lib. 4. pag. 133.* ** Camden, in Pembr.*

Ireland also putteth in for her portion of honour in this service. Indeed, for the first fourescore yeares in the Holy warre, Ireland did little there, or in any other countrey. It was divided into many pettie Kingdomes; so that her peoples valour had no progressive motion in length, to make any impression in forrein parts, but onely moved round in a circle at home, their pettie *Reguli* spending themselves against themselves, till our Henry the second conquered them all. After which time the Irish began to look abroad into Palestine: witnesse many houses for Templars, and the stately Priorie of Kilmainam nigh Dublin for Hospitallers; the last Lord Prior whereof at the dissolution, was Sir John Rawson. Yea, we may well think, that all the consort of Christendome in this warre could have made no musick if the Irish Harp had been wanting.

Chap. 24.

Of the honourable Arms in scutcheons of Nobilitie occasioned by their service in the Holy warre.

NOw for a corollarie to this storie, if we survey the scutcheons of the Christian Princes and Nobilitie at this day, we shall find the Arms of many of them pointing at the atchievements of their predecessours in the Holy warre.

Thus the * Dukes of Austria bear Gules a Fesse Argent, in memory of the valour of Leopoldus at the siege of Ptolemais; whereof before. ** Pantal. De illust. Germ. part. 2. pag. 201.*

Anno Dom.

270 The Duke of Savoy * beareth Gules a Crosse Argent, being the crosse of S. John of Jerusalem; because his predecessours were speciall benefactours to that Order, and assisted them in defending of Rhodes.

* *Hospin. De orig. Mon. cap. 17. fol. 190.*

Queens Colledge in Cambridge (to which I ow my education for my first seven yeares in that Universitie) giveth for parcel of her Arms, amongst many other rich Coats, the Crosse of Jerusalem; as being founded by Queen Margaret, wife to King Henry the sixth, and daughter of Renate Earl of Angiers and titular King of Sicilie and Jerusalem.

The noble and numerous familie of the Douglasses in Scotland (whereof at this day are one Marquesse, two Earls, and a Vice-count) give in their Arms a mans Heart, ever since * Robert Bruse King of Scotland bequeathed his heart to James Douglasse, to carry it to Jerusalem; which he accordingly performed.

* *Camden, in his descript. of Cludisdale.*

To instance in particulars were endlesse: we will onely summe them up in generals. Emblemes of honour born in Coats occasioned by the Holy warre, are reducible to these heads:

1. Scallop-shells; which may fitly for the workmanship thereof be called *artificium naturæ*. It seemeth Pilgrimes carried them constantly with them, as Diogenes did his dish, to drink in. * I find an Order of Knights called *Equites Cochleares*, wearing belike Cockle or Scallop-shells, belonging to them who had done good sea-service, especially in the Holy warre: and many Hollanders (saith my Authour) for their good service at the siege of Damiata were admitted into that Order.

* *Zuerius Boxhorn his Apologie for the Holland shipping.*

2. Saracens Heads: It being a maxime in Heraldrie, That it is more honourable to bear the head then any other part of the bodie. They are commonly born either black or bloudie. But if Saracens in their Arms should use Christians heads, I doubt not but they would shew ten to one.

3. Pilgrimes or Palmers Scrips or Bags; the Arms of the worshipfull family of the * Palmers in Kent.

* *Gwill. in his Heraldrie.*

4. Pilgrimes Staves, and such like other implements and accoutrements belonging unto them.

5. But the chiefest of all is the Crosse: which though born in Arms before, yet was most commonly and generally used since the Holy warre. The plain Crosse, or S. Georges Crosse, I take to be the mother of all the rest; as plain-song is much senior to any running of division. Now as by transposition of a few letters, a world of words are made; so by the varying of this Crosse in form, colour, and metall (ringing as it were the changes) are made infinite severall Coats: The Crosse of *Jerusalem*, or *five Crosses*, most frequently used in this warre; Crosse *Patée*, because the ends thereof are broad; *Fichée*, whose bottom is sharp, to be fixed in the ground; *Wavée*, which those may justly

Anno Dom.

justly wear who failed thither through the miseries of the sea, or sea of miseries: *Molinée*, because like to the rind of a mill: *Saltyrée*, or S. Andrews Crosse: *Florid*, or garlanded with flowers: the Crosse *crossed:* Besides the divers tricking or dressing; as piercing, voiding, fimbriating, ingrailing, couping: And in fansie and devices there is still a *plus ultrá*; insomuch that Crosses alone as they are variously disguised, are enough to distinguish all the severall families of Gentlemen in England.

Exemplary is the Coat of George Villiers Duke of Buckingham; five Scallop-shells on a plain Crosse, speaking his predecessours valour in the Holy warre. For Sir Nicolas de Villiers Knight, followed Edward the first in his warres in the Holy land; and then and there assumed this his new Coat: For formerly he bore Sable three Cinquefoils Argent. This * Nicolas was the ancestour of the Duke of Buckingham, lineally descended from the ancient familie of Villiers in Normandie; then which name none more redoubted in this service: For we * find John de Villiers the one and twentieth Master of the Hospitallers; and another Philip de Villiers Master of Rhodes, under whom it was surrendred to the Turks; a yeelding equall to a conqueſt.

Yet should one labour to find a mysterie in all Arms, relating to the qualitie or deserts of the owners of them (like Chrysippus, who troubled himself with great contention to find out a Stoicall assertion of Philosophie in every fiction of the Poets) he would light on a labour in vain. For I beleeve (be it spoken with loyaltie to all Kings of Arms, and Heralds their Lieutenants in that facultie) that at the first, the * will of the bearer was the reason of the bearing; or if at their originall of assuming them there were some speciall cause, yet time since hath cancelled it: And as in Mythologie, the morall hath often been made since the fable; so a sympathie betwixt the Arms and the bearer hath sometimes been of later invention. I denie not but in some Coats some probable reason may be assigned of bearing them: But it is in vain to digge for mines in every ground, because there is lead in Mendip hills.

To conclude; As great is the use of Arms, so this especially, To preserve the memories of the dead. Many a dumbe monument, which through time or sacriledge hath lost his tongue, the epitaph, yet hath made such signes by the scutcheons about it, that Antiquaries have understood who lay there entombed.

* *Burton in Leicestershire.*

* *Hospin. De orig. Mon. in Joan.*

* *Dr Ridley, View of the Civil law, §. 6. pag. 100.*

272

Anno Dom.

Chap. 25.

Some offers of Chriſtian Princes for Paleſtine ſince the end of the Holy warre, by Henry the fourth of England, Charles the eighth of France, and James the fourth of Scotland.

AS after that the bodie of the ſunne is ſet, ſome ſhining ſtill ſurviveth in the weſt: ſo after this Holy warre was expired, we find ſome ſtraggling rayes and beams of valour offering that way; ever and anon the Chriſtian Princes having a bout with that deſigne. To collect the ſeverall eſſayes of Princes glancing on that project, were a task of great pains and ſmall profit; ſpecially, ſome of them being umbrages and State-repreſentations rather then realities, to ingratiate Princes with their ſubjects, or with the oratorie of ſo pious a project to woo money out of peoples purſes, or thereby to cloke and cover armies levied to other intents: Beſides, moſt of theſe deſignes were abortive, or aborſive rather, like thoſe untimely miſcarriages not honoured with a ſoul or the ſhape and lineaments of an infant. Yet to ſave the Readers longing, we will give him a taſt or two; and begin with that of our Henry the fourth of England.

The end of the reigne of this our Henry was peaceable and proſperous. For though his title was builded on a bad foundation, yet it had ſtrong buttreſſes: moſt of the Nobilitie favoured and fenſed it: And as for the houſe of York, it appeared not; its beſt bloud as yet ranne in feminine veins, and therefore was the leſſe active. Now King Henry in the ſunne-ſhine evening of his life (after a ſtormie day) was diſpoſed to walk abroad, and take in ſome forrein aire. He pitched his thoughts on the Holy * warre, for to go to Jeruſalem, and began to provide for the ſame. One principall motive which incited him was, That it was told him he ſhould not die till he had heard Maſſe in Jeruſalem. But this proved not like the revelation told to old * Simeon: for King Henry was fain to ſing his *Nunc dimittis*, before he expected; and died in the chamber called *Jeruſalem* in Weſtminſter. By comparing this propheſie with one of Apollo's oracles, we may conclude them to be brethren (they are ſo alike) and both begotten of the father of lies: For the Devil eartheth himſelf in an homonymie, as a fox in the ground; if he be ſtopped at one hole, he will get out at another. How-ever, the Kings purpoſe deſerveth

* *Lord Verulam, in his Henry* vii. *pag.* 87.

* *Luke* 2.26.

Anno Dom.

deſerveth remembrance and commendation, becauſe really and ſeriouſly intended;

Farre better, I beleeve, then that of Charles the eighth King of France: Who in a braving Embaſſage which he ſent to our Henry the ſeventh, gave him to underſtand his reſolutions; to make re-conqueſt of Naples, but as of a bridge to * tranſport his forces into Grecia; and then not to ſpare bloud or treaſure (if it were to the impairing of his Crown and diſpeopling of France) till either he had overthrown the Empire of the Ottomans, or taken it in his way to Paradiſe; and hence (belike) he would have at Jeruſalem, invited (as he ſaid) with the former example of our Henry the fourth. But our King Henry the ſeventh (being too good a fenſer to miſtake a flouriſh for a blow) quickly reſented his drift (which was to perſwade our King to peace, till Charles ſhould perform his projects in little Britain and elſewhere) and dealt with him accordingly. And as for the gradation of King Charles his purpoſes, Naples, Grecia, Jeruſalem, a ſtately but difficult aſcent, (where the ſtairs are ſo farre aſunder, the legs muſt be long to ſtride them) the French nation was weary of climbing the firſt, and then came down, vaulting nimbly into Naples and out of it again.

* *L. Verulam, in Henry* vii.

More cordiall was that of * James the fourth King of Scotland, that pious Prince: who being touched in conſcience for his fathers death (though he did not cauſe it, but ſeemed to countenance it with his preſence) ever after, in token of his contrition, wore an iron chain about his body; and to expiate his fault, intended a journey into Syria. He prepared his navie, provided his ſoudiers, imparted his project to forrein Princes; and verily had gone, if at the firſt other warres, and afterwards ſudden death had not cauſed his ſtay.

* *Buchanan, in the life of James* iiii.

Chap. 26.

The fictitious voyage of William Landt-grave of Heſſe to Paleſtine confuted.

THeſe are enough to ſatisfie; more would cloy. Onely here I muſt diſcover a cheat, and have it pilloried, leſt it trouble others as it hath done me: The ſtorie I find in Calviſius, *anno* 1460: take it in his very words; "William the Landt-grave appointed an Holy voyage to Paleſtine; choſe his company out "of many Noblemen and Earls, in number ninetie eight: He "happily finiſhed his journey; onely one of them died in Cy- "prus. He brought back with him ſix and fourtie enſignes of "horſe.

274 "horſe. Seven moneths were ſpent in the voyage, *Fab.* So farre Calviſius, avouching this Fab. for his authour. Each word a wonder; not to ſay, an impoſſibilitie. What? in the yeare 1460, when the deluge of Mahometans had overrun moſt of Grecia, Aſia, and Syria? William, a Landt-grave (of Heſſe, no doubt) neither the greateſt nor next to the greateſt Prince in Germanie, farre from the ſea, unfurniſhed with ſhipping, not within the ſuſpicion of ſo great a performance! Six and fourtie horſe-enſignes taken! Where? or from whom? Was it in warre, and but one man killed? A battel ſo bloudleſſe ſeemeth as truthleſſe; and the loſing but of one man ſavoureth of never a one. But ſeven moneths ſpent! Such atchievements beſeem rather an apprentiſhip of yeares then moneths. Beſides, was Fame all the while dead, ſpeechleſſe, or aſleep, that ſhe trumpeted not this action abroad? Did onely this Fab. take notice of it? be he Faber, Fabius, Fabianus, Fabinianus, or what you pleaſe. Why is it not ſtoried in other writers? the Dutch men giving no ſcant meaſure in ſuch wares, and their Chronicles being more guiltie of remembring trifles then forgetting matters of moment? *Anno Dom.*

Yet the gravitie of Calviſius recording it, moveth me much on the other ſide; a Chronologer, of ſuch credit, that he may take up more belief on his bare word then ſome other on their bond. In this perplexitie, I wrote to my oracle in doubts of this nature, Mr Joſeph Mead fellow of Chriſts Colledge in Cambridge, ſince lately deceaſed: Heare his anſwer;

Sir,

I have found your ſtorie in Calviſius his poſthume Chronologie, but can heare of it no-where elſe. I ſought Reuſners Baſilica Genealogica, *who is wont with the name of his Princes to note briefly any act or accident of theirs memorable, and ſometimes ſcarce worth it: But no ſuch of this William Landt-grave. So in concluſion, I am reſolved it is a fable out of ſome Romainza; and that your Authour* Fab. *is nothing but* Fabula *defectively written. But you will ſay, Why did he put it into his book? I anſwer, He himſelf did not; but had noted it in ſome paper put into his Chronologie, preparing for a new and fuller Edition: which, himſelf dying before he had digeſted his new Edition (as you may ſee I think ſomewhere in the Preface) thoſe who were truſted with it after his death to write it out for the preſſe, fooliſhly transferred out of ſuch paper, or perhaps out of the margin, into the text; thinking that* Fab. *had been ſome Hiſtorian, which was nothing but that ſhe-authour* Fabula. *If this will not ſatisfie, I know not what to ſay more unto it. Thus with beſt affection I reſt*

Chriſt. Coll. June 20. 1638.

Yours, Joseph Mead.

Anno Dom.

This I thought fit to recite, not for his honour but to honour my self, as conceiving it my credit to be graced with so learned a mans acquaintance.

Thus much of offertures. I will conclude with that speech of the Lady Margaret, Countesse of Richmond and Derbie, and mother to our King Henry the seventh (a most pious woman, as that age went; though I am not of his faith who beleeved her to be the next woman in goodnesse to the Virgin Mary:) She used to say, that if the Christian Princes would undertake a war against the Turks to recover the Holy land, she would be their * laundresse. But I beleeve she performed a work more acceptable in the eyes of God, in founding a Professours place in either Universitie, and in building Christs and S. Johns Colledges in Cambridge (the seminaries of so many great scholars and grave Divines) then if she had visited either Christs sepulchre or S. Johns church in Jerusalem.

* *Camdens Remains.*

Chap. 27.

The fortunes of Jerusalem since the Holy warre; and her present estate.

SEven yeares after the Latine Christians were finally expelled out of Syria, some hope presented it self of reestablishing them again. For Casanus the great Tartar Prince, having of late subdued the Persians, and married the daughter of the Armenian King (a Lady of great perfection) and of a Mahometane become a Christian, at the request of his wife he be-

1298 sieged the citie * Jerusalem, and took it without resistance. The Temple of our Saviour he gave to the Armenians, Georgians, and other Christians, which flocked thick out of Cyprus there to inhabit. But soon after his departure it fell back again to the Mammalukes of Egypt; who enjoyed it till Selimus the great Turk, *anno* 1517, overthrew the Empire of Mammalukes, and seised Jerusalem into his hand: whose successours keep it at this day.

* *Centuriatores, pag. totius operis penult.*

Jerusalem better acquitteth it self to the eare then to the eye; being no whit beautifull at all. The situation thereof is very uneven, rising into hills and sinking into dales; the lively embleme of the fortunes of the place; sometimes advanced with prosperitie, sometimes depressed in misery. Once it was well compacted, and * *built as a citie that is at unitie in it self*; but now distracted from it self: the suspicious houses (as if afraid to be infected with more miserie then they have alreadie, by conti-

* *Psal. 122. 3.*

276

contiguousnesse to others) keep off at distance, having many waste places betwixt them; not one * fair street in the whole citie. *Anno Dom.*

* *Bydulph, pag. 117.*

It hath a castle, built (as it is thought) by the Pisans, * tolerably fortified. Good guard is kept about the citie, and no Christians with weapons suffered to enter. But the deepest ditch to defend Jerusalem from the Western Christians, is the remotenesse of it; and the strongest wall to fense it, is the Turkish Empire compassing it round about.

* *Sandys Travels, pag. 158.*

Poore it must needs be, having no considerable commoditie to vent; except a few beads of Holy earth, which they pay too deare for that have them for the fetching. There is in the citie a covent of Franciscans, to whom Christians repair for protection during their remaining in the citie. The Padre Guardian appointeth these Pilgrimes a Friar, who sheweth them all the monuments about the citie: Scarce a great stone, which beareth the brow of reverend antiquitie, that passeth without a peculiar legend upon it: But every vault under ground hath in it a deep mysterie indeed. Pilgrimes must follow the Friar with their bodies and belief; and take heed how they give tradition the lie, though she tell one never so boldly. The survey finished, they must pay the Guardian both for their victuals and their welcome, and gratifie his good words and looks; otherwise if they forget it, he will be so bold as to remember them. The Guardian farmeth the Sepulchre of the Turk at a yearly rent: and the Turks which reap no benefit by Christs death, receive much profit by his buriall; and not content with their yearly rent, squeeze the Friars here on all occasions, making them pay large summes for little offenses.

The other subsistence which the Friars here have, is from the benevolence of the Pope and other bountifull benefactours in Europe. Nor getteth the Padre Guardian a little by his fees of making Knights of the Sepulchre: of which Order I find, some hundred yeares since, S^r John Chamond of* Lancels in Cornwall to have been dubbed Knight. But I beleeve no good English subject at this day will take that honour, if offered him; both because at their creation they are to swear loyaltie to the Pope and * King of Spain, and because honours conferred by forrein Potentates are not here in England acknowledged, neither in their style nor precedencie, except given by courtesie: Witnesse that famous case of the Count Arundel of Wardour, and Queen Elisabeths peremptorie resolve, That her sheep should be branded with no * strangers mark, but her own.

* *Carew, in his survey of Cornwall, pag. 118.*

* *Bydulph, pag. 119.*

* *Camdens Elisabeth, in anno 1596.*

The land about it (as Authours generally agree) is barren. Yet * Brochard a Monk, who lived here some two hundred yeares since,

* *De terra Sancta, part. 2. cap. 1.*

Anno Dom. since, commendeth it to be very fruitfull. Sure he had better eyes, to see more then other men could; or else by a *Synecdoche* he imputeth the fertilitie of parcels to the whole countrey. But it is as false a consequence, as, on the other side, to conclude from the baseneſſe of Bagshot-heath the barrenneſſe of all the Kingdome of England. We may rather beleeve, that since the fall of the Jews from Gods favour, the once-supernaturall fertilitie of the land is taken away, and the naturall strength thereof much abated and impaired. 277

Chap. 28.

Whether it be probable that this Holy warre will ever hereafter be set on foot again.

THus we state the question; Whether this Holy warre, I mean, for the winning of the citie of Jerusalem and recovering of Palestine, will probably ever hereafter be projected and acted again. We may beleeve this tragedie came off so ill the last acting, that it will not be brought on the stage the second time.

1. The Pope will never offer to give motion to it, as knowing it unlikely to succeed. Policies of this nature are like sleights of hand, to be shewed but once; lest what is admired at first be derided afterwards.

2. Princes are grown more cunning, and will not bite at a bait so stale, so often breathed on. The Popes ends in this warre are now plainly smelt out; which though prettie and pleasing at first, yet Princes are not now, like the native Indians, to be cozened with glasse and gaudie toyes: The load-stone to draw their affection (now out of non-age) must present it self necessary, profitable, and probable to be effected.

3. There is a more needfull work nearer hand; to resist the Turks invasion in Europe. Heark how the Grecians call unto us, as once * the man in the vision did to S. Paul, Come over into Macedonia, and help us. Yea, look on the Popes projects of the last Edition, and we shall find the businesse of the Sepulchre buried in silence, and the Holy warre running in another chanel, against the Turks in Christendome. * *Acts* 16.9.

4. Lastly, who is not sensible with sorrow of the dissensions (better suiting with my prayers then my penne) wherewith Christian Princes at this day are rent in sunder: wounds so wide that onely Heavens chirurgerie can heal them: Till which time no hope of a Holy warre against the generall and common foe of our Religion.

278 We may ſafely conclude, that the regaining of Jeruſalem and the Holy land from the Turks, may better be placed amongſt our deſires then our hopes; as improbable ever to come to paſſe: except the Platonick yeare, turning the wheel of all actions round about, bring the ſpoke of this Holy warre back again. *Anno Dom.*

Chap. 29.

Of the many Pretenders of titles to the Kingdome of Jeruſalem.

NO Kingdome in the world is challenged at this day by ſuch an armie of Kings as this of Jeruſalem: It is ſooner told what Princes of Europe do not, then what do lay claim to it; they be ſo many. Take their names as I find them in the Catalogue of Stephen a Cypriot.

1 *The Emperour of the Eaſt.*
2 *The Patriarch of Jeruſalem.*
3 *The Luſignans, Kings of Cyprus.*
4 *Emfred Prince of Thorone.*
5 *Conrade de la-Rame Marqueſſe of Montferrat.*
6 *The Kings of England.*
7 *His Holineſſe.*
8 *The Kings of Naples.*
9 *The Princes of Antioch.*
10 *The Counts of Brienne.*
11 *The Kings of Armenia.*
12 *The Kings of Hungarie.*
13 *The Kings of Aragon.*
14 *The Dukes of Anjou.*
15 *The Dukes of Loraine.*
16 *Lewis the eleventh, King of France.*
17 *The Dukes of Bourbon.*
18 *The Dukes of Savoy.*
19 *James de Luſigna, baſe ſonne to the King of Cyprus.*
20 *Charles de Luſigna, ſonne to the Prince of Galilee.*
21 *The State of Genoa.*
22 *The Marqueſſe of Montferrat.*
23 *The Count of la-Vall.*
24 *The Arch-duke of Nize.*
25 *The Sultan of Egypt.*
26 *The Emperour of the Turks.*

It ſeemeth by the naming of Lewis the eleventh and James the baſtard of Cyprus, that this liſt was taken about the yeare

Anno Dom.

yeare 1466. And now how would a Herald ſweat with ſcouring over theſe time-ruſtie titles, to ſhew whence theſe Princes derived their ſeverall claims, and in whom the right reſteth at this day? & when his work is done, who ſhould pay him his wages? 279

My clew of thread is not ſtrong enough, on the guidance thereof for me to venture into this labyrinth of Pedegrees; we will content our ſelves with theſe generall obſervations:

1. It ſeemeth this catalogue containeth as well thoſe who had *jus in Regno* as thoſe who had *jus ad Regnum:* as namely, the Prince of Thorone, and Patriarchs of Jeruſalem, and State of Genoa; whoſe ambition ſurely ſoared not ſo high as to claim the Kingdome of Jeruſalem, but rather perched it ſelf upon ſome lands and Signories challenged therein.

2. A ſmall matter will ſerve to intitle a Prince to a titular Kingdome: In this caſe, Kings can better digeſt corrivals where they be many, and all challenge what is worth nothing. In this catalogue it ſeemeth ſome onely intitle themſelves out of good fellowſhip and love of good companie: Theſe like ſquirrels recover themſelves, and climbe up to a claim on the leaſt bough, twig, yea leaf of a Right. Thus the Counts of Brienne in France (if any ſtill remain of that houſe) gave away their cake and kept it ſtill; in that John Bren parted with his right to this Kingdome, in match with Iole his daughter, to Frederick the ſecond Emperour, and yet the Earls of his familie pretend ſtill to Jeruſalem.

3. We may beleeve, that by matches and under-matches ſome of theſe titles may reſide in private Gentlemen; eſpecially in France: And what wonder? ſeeing within fourteen generations, the * royall bloud of the Kings of Judah ran in the veins of plain Joſeph a painfull carpenter.

* *Matth.* 1. 16.

4. At this day ſome of thoſe titles are finally extinct: as that of the Emperours of the Eaſt, conquered by the Ottoman familie: Their Imperiall Eagle was ſo farre from beholding the ſunne, that the half-moon dazzled, yea quite put out his eyes. Rank in the ſame form the Kings of Armenia, and Sultans of Egypt.

5. Some of theſe titles are tranſlated: That of the Luſignans, Kings of Cyprus, probably paſſed with that Iſland to the State of Venice; The claim of the Hungarian Kings ſeemeth at this day to remain in the Germane Emperour.

6. Some united: The claim of the Arch-dukes of Nize (a ſtyle I meet not with elſewhere) twiſted with that of the Duke of Savoy; The Kings of Naples and Aragon now joyned in the King of Spain.

7. Of thoſe which are extant at this day, Englands appeareth firſt; our Richard receiving it in exchange of King Guy for the Iſland of Cyprus. Guy's reſignation was voluntarie

280

and publick; the world was witnesse to it: He truly received a valuable consideration, which his heirs long peaceably enjoyed; and our English Kings styled themselves * Kings of Jerusalem, till afterwards they disused it for * reasons best known to themselves. Our Poet Harding, in a paper he presented to King Henry the sixth, cleareth another double title of our Kings thereunto: And because some palates love the mouldie best, and place the goodnesse of old verses in the badnesse of them, take them as they fell from his penne; *Anno Dom.*

* *Sabellicus, Ennead. 9. lib. 5. pag. 378.*

* *In his Proeme, fol. 5.*

To Jerusalem, I say, ye have great right
From Erle Geffray that hight Plantogenet,
Of Aungeoy Erle, a Prince of passyng might,
The eldest sonne of Fouke, and first beget,
King of Jerusalem by his wife dewly set;
Whose sonne Geffray foresaid gat on his wife
Henry the second, that was known full rife.

Yet have ye more, from Bawldwyne Paralyticus
King afterward, to the same King Henry
The Crown sent and his Banner pretious,
As very heire of whole Aunceſtrie
Descent of bloud by title lineally
From Godfray Boleyn, and Robert Curthose,
That Kings were thereof and chose.

8. Then cometh forth the Popes title; who claimeth it many wayes: Either because he was the first and chiefest mover and advancer of this warre, Lord Paramont of this action, and all the Pilgrimes no better then his servants; and then according to the rule in Civil law, * *Quodcunque per servum acquiritur, id Domino acquiritur suo:* Or else he challengeth it from John Bren, who * subjected that Kingdome to the See of Rome; and yet the said John used the style of Jerusalem all the dayes of his life, and also gave it away in match with his daughter: Or else he deriveth it as forfeited to him by the Emperour Frederick the second and his sonnes, for taking arms against the Church. But what need these farre-abouts? They go the shortest cut, who accounting the Pope Gods Lieutenant on earth (though by a Commission of his own penning) give him a temporall power (especially *in ordine ad spiritualia*) over all the Kingdomes of the world.

* *Institut. lib. 1. tit. 8. §. 1.*

* *Knolls, Hist. Turk. pag. 123.*

The originall right of Jerusalem he still keepeth in himself, yet hath successively gratified many Princes with a title derived from him: Nor shineth his candle the dimmer by lighting of others. First he bestowed his title on Charles of Anjou,

King

Anno Dom.

King of Sicilie (from which root ſpring the many-branched French competitours) and ſince hath conferred the ſame on the houſe of Aragon, or King of Spain. Which King alone weareth it in his ſtyle at this day, and maketh continuall warre with the Turk, who detaineth Jeruſalem from him: Yea, all Weſt-Chriſtendome oweth her quiet ſleep to his conſtant waking, who with his galleys muzzleth the mouth of Tunis and Algier. Yea, God in his providence hath ſo ordered it, that the Dominions of Catholick Princes (as they term them) are the caſe and cover on the Eaſt and South to keep and fenſe the Proteſtant countreys.

The quit-rent which the King of Spain payeth yearly to the Pope for the Kingdomes of Jeruſalem, Naples, and Sicilie, is foure thouſand crowns, ſent to his Holineſſe upon a * hackney: Who grudgeth his tenant ſo great a penie-worth; yet cannot help himſelf, except he would follow the Friars advice, To ſend home the Spaniſh Hackney with a great Horſe after him. What credit there is to be given to that through-old (if not doting) prophecie, That a * Spaniard ſhall one day recover Jeruſalem, we leave to the cenſure of others; and mean time we will conclude more ſerious matters with this pleaſant paſſage:

When the late warres in the dayes of Queen * Eliſabeth were hot between England and Spain, there were Commiſſioners on both ſides appointed to treat of peace. They met at a town of the French Kings: and firſt it was debated, what tongue the negotiation ſhould be handled in. A Spaniard, thinking to give the Engliſh Commiſſioners a ſhrewd gird, propoſed the French tongue as moſt fit, it being a language which the Spaniards were well skilled in; and for theſe Gentlemen of England, I ſuppoſe (ſaid he) that they cannot be ignorant of the language of their fellow-ſubjects; their Queen is Queen of France as well as England. Nay in faith, Maſters, (replyed Doctor Dale, the Maſter of Requeſts) the French tongue is too vulgar for a buſineſſe of this ſecrecie and importance, eſpecially in a French town: we will rather treat in Hebrew the language of Jeruſalem, whereof your Maſter is King; I ſuppoſe you are herein as well skilled as we in French.

At this day the Turk hath eleven points of the law in Jeruſalem, I mean poſſeſſion: and which is more, preſcription of a hundred and twentie yeares, if you date it from the time it came into the Ottoman familie; but farre more, if you compute it from ſuch time as the Mammaluke Turks have enjoyed it. Yea, likely they are to keep it, being good at hold-faſt, and who will as ſoon loſe their teeth as let go their prey. With

* *Sr Edwin Sandys, View of the weſt world, pag. 137.*

* *Centuriatores, Cent. 13. cap. 16. col. 692.*

* *Heylin, Microcoſ. in Paleſtine.*

282 the description of the greatnesse of which Empire will we (God willing) now close this Historie. *Anno Dom.*

Chap. 30.

Of the greatnesse, strength, wealth, and wants of the Turkish Empire; What hopes of the approching ruine thereof.

THe Turkish Empire is the greatest and best-compacted (not excepting the Romane it self in the height thereof) that the sunne ever saw. Take sea and land together (as bones and flesh make up one bodie) and from Buda in the West to Taurus in the East, it stretcheth about three thousand miles: little lesse is the extent thereof North and South. It lieth in the heart of the world, like a bold champion bidding defiance to all his borderers, commanding the most fruitfull countreys of Europe, Asia, and Africa: Onely America (not more happie in her rich mines then in her remotenesse) lieth free from the reach thereof.

Populous it is not; for men will never grow thick where meat groweth thinne: It lieth waste, according to the old proverb, Grasse springeth not where the Grand Signors horse setteth his foot. Besides, a third part (I may say, half) of those in Turkie are not Turks, but either Jews or Christians.

The strength of this Empire consisteth either in bones or stones, men or munition. Of the first, The best stake in the Turks hedge is his great number of Horsemen called * Timariots, conceived to exceed seven hundred thousand fighting men: These are dispersed over all his Dominions, and have lands allotted unto them in reward of their good service and valour, much in the nature of those souldiers of the Romish Empire called *Beneficiarii*. And indeed the Turkish Empire resembleth the Romane in many particulars: not that they ever studied imitation, and by reading of Historie conformed their State to Romane precedents, (farre be it from us to wrong them with the false imputation of so much learning) but rather casually they have met in some common principles of policie. Of these Timariots, on occasion and competent warning, he can bring into the field an hundred and fiftie thousand, all bound by the tenure of their lands to arm, clothe, feed, pay themselves: So great an armie, which

* *Knolls, in his descript. of the greatnesse of the Turkish Empire.*

Anno Dom.

which would drain the wealth of other Princes, doth coſt the great Turk no drop of expenſe.

Next follow his beſt footmen, called Janizaries, taken young from their Chriſtian parents (parallel to the Romane Pretorian ſouldiers) being the guard of the Grand Signors perſon. But as they watch about him, ſo he caſteth a watchfull eye on them; ſeeing of late they are grown from painfull to be proud, yea inſolent and intolerable: it being true of theſe Janizaries in the Turkiſh Empire, as of Elephants in an armie; If well ruled, they alone are enough to winne the battel; if unruly, they alone are enough to loſe it. As for all other ſorts of the Turks, both foot and horſe, they are but ſlugs; as whom the Grand Signor little truſteth, and others need leſſe fear.

His frontier cities, eſpecially thoſe which reſpect Chriſtendome, are exactly fortified. Rank with theſe ſuch places of importance and caſtles as command paſſages of conſequence. As for his inland-cities, there is no ſuperfluous, ſcarce competent, ſtrength in them. But if we allow thoſe people to be chaſte who never were ſolicited to be otherwiſe, then may many cities lying in the bowels of his Empire paſſe for ſtrong, which for a long time have not had nor in haſte are likely to have the temptation of a ſiege.

Of Ordinance he hath great ſtore, and hath excellent materials to make them of; and is alſo very powerfull in ſhipping. Indeed ſhips of great burden would be burdenſome in thoſe narrow ſeas, and experience hath found leſſer veſſels of greater uſe; whereof he hath ſtore. And though the Turks either want ingenie or induſtrie, either care not or cannot be good ſhipwrights themſelves; yet the ſpite is, as long as there is gold amongſt the Turks there will be droſſe amongſt the Chriſtians, I mean ſome who for baſe gain will betray the myſteries of our uſefull arts unto them. As for wood to build with, he hath excellent in Bithynia; yea, generally in this wild Empire, trees grow better then men. To his ſea-munition may be reduced his multitude of ſlaves, though not the informing yet (againſt their wills) the aſſiſting form of his Galleys, and in whom conſiſteth a great part of their ſtrength and ſwiftneſſe.

Nor muſt we forget the Pirates of Tunis and Algier; which are Turks and no Turks: Sometimes the Grand Signor diſclaimeth, renounceth and caſteth them off to ſtand upon their own bottom; as when thoſe Chriſtian Princes which are confederate with him, complain to him of the wrongs thoſe ſea-robbers have done them. But though he ſendeth them out to ſeek their own meat, he can clock them under his wings

284

at pleaſure: And we may verily beleeve, though ſometimes in the ſummer of his own proſperitie he throweth them off as an upper garment of no uſe, yet in cold weather he will buckle them on again; and if neceſſitie pincheth him, receive them not as retainers at large but as his beſt ſervants in ordinarie. *Anno Dom.*

Nor is it the laſt and leaſt part of the ſtrength of this Empire, that all her native people are linked together in one religion: The diſcords about which in other kingdomes have been the cauſe, firſt of the unjoynting, and then of the finall ruine & deſolation of many worthy States: Whereas here, the Mahometane religion (if I wrong it not with ſo good a name) is ſo full of unitie and agreement, that there is no difference & diſſenſion about it. Yea, well may that coat have no ſeam which hath no ſhape. A ſenſeleſſe ignorant profeſſion it is, not able to go to the coſt of a controverſie: And all colours may well agree in the dark.

Next the ſtrength followeth the wealth; yea, it is part thereof: For all rich Kingdomes may beſtrong, and purchaſe artificiall fortification. The certain and conſtant revenues of the great Turk are not great, if withall we conſider the ſpatiouſneſſe of his Dominions. Some have mounted his ordinarie yearly in-come to eight * millions of gold. But men gueſſe by uncertain aim at Princes revenues, eſpecially if they be ſo remote: We may beleeve that in their conjecture herein, though they miſſe the mark, they hit the butt. Farre greater might his *intrado* be, if husbandrie, and chiefly merchandiſe, were plied in his countrey: merchants being the *Vena porta* of a Kingdome; without which it may have good limbes, but emptie veins, and nouriſh little. Now although this Empire be of a vaſt extent, having many ſafe harbours to receive ſtrangers there, and Staple commodities (chiefly if induſtrie were uſed) to allure them thither; yet hath it in effect but foure prime places of trading; Conſtantinople, Cairo, Aleppo, and Tauris. As for the extraordinarie revenues of the Grand Signor, by his eſcheats and other courſes if he pleaſeth to take them, they are a *Nemo ſcit:* For in effect he is worth as much as all his ſubjects (or ſlaves rather) throughout his whole Empire are worth, his ſpunges to ſqueeze at pleaſure.

* *Knolls.*

But the Lion is not ſo fierce as he is painted, nor this Empire ſo formidable as fame giveth it out. The Turks head is leſſe then his turbant, and his turbant leſſe then it ſeemeth; ſwelling without, hollow within. If more ſeriouſly it be conſidered, this State cannot be ſtrong, which is a pure and abſolute tyrannie. His ſubjects under him have nothing certain but this, That they have nothing certain; and may thank the Grand Signor for giving them whatſoever he taketh not away from them. Their goods they hold by permiſſion not proprietie; not

Anno Dom.

not ſure that either they or theirs ſhall reap what they ſow, or eat what they reap: and hereupon husbandrie is wholly neglected: For the plowman (as well as the ground he ploweth) will be ſoon out of heart, if not maintained and (as I may ſay) compoſted with hopes to receive benefit by his labours. Here great officers, if they love themſelves, muſt labour not to be beloved: for popularitie is high treaſon; and generally wealth is a ſinne to be expiated by death. In a word, it is a cruel tyrannie, bathed in the bloud of their Emperours upon every ſucceſſion; a heap of vaſſals and ſlaves; no Nobles (except for time being, by office) no Gentlemen, no Free-men, no inheritance of land, no Stirp or ancient families; a nation without any, moralitie, arts and ſciences, that can ſcarce meaſure an acre of land or houre of a day.

And needeth not that Kingdome conſtant and continued pointing, which is cemented with fear not love? May we not juſtly think, that there be many in this Empire which rather wait a time then want deſire to overthrow it? For though ſome think the Grecians in Turkie bear ſuch inveterate hate to the Latine Chriſtians, that they would rather refuſe deliverance then accept them for their deliverers; yet ſurely both they, and perchance ſome native Turks, out of that principle of deſiring libertie (the ſecond rule next preſerving life in the charter of Nature) would be made (if this Empire were ſeriouſly invaded, ſo that the foundation thereof did totter) ſooner to find two hands to pluck it down then one finger to hold it up.

And we have juſt cauſe to hope that the fall of this unweldie Empire doth approch. It was high noon with it fiftie yeares ago; we hope now it draweth neare night: the rather, becauſe luxurie, though late, yet at laſt hath found the Turks out, or they it. When firſt they came out of Turcomania, and were in their pure naturals, they were wonderfully abſtemious, neglecting all voluptuouſneſſe, not ſo much out of a diſlike as ignorance of it: But now having taſted the ſweetneſſe of the cup, they can drink as great a draught as any others. That Paradiſe of corporall pleaſure which Mahomet promiſed them in the world to come, they begin to anticipate here, at leaſtwiſe to take an earneſt of it, and have well ſoked themſelves in luxurie. Yea, now they begin to grow covetous, both Prince and people, rather ſeeking to enjoy their means with quiet then enlarge them with danger.

Heaven can as eaſily blaſt an oak as trample a muſhrome. And we may expect the ruine of this great Empire will come: for of late it hath little increaſed its ſtock, and now beginneth to ſpend of the principall. It were arrant preſumption for

286 for Fleſh to preſcribe God his way; or to teach him, when he meaneth to ſhoot, which arrow in his quiver to chooſe. Perchance the Weſtern Chriſtians, or the Grecians under him (though theſe be better for ſeconds then firſts, fitter to foment then raiſe a faction) or his own Janizaries, or the Perſian, or the Tartarian, or ſome other obſcure Prince not as yet come into play in the World, ſhall have the luſtre from God to maul this great Empire. It is more then enough for any man to ſet down the fate of a ſingle ſoul; much more to reſolve the doom of a whole nation when it ſhall be. Theſe things we leave to Providence to work, and poſteritie to behold. As for our generation, let us ſooner expect the diſſolutions of our own Microcoſmes then the confuſion of this Empire: For neither are own ſinnes yet truly repented of, to have this puniſhment removed from us; nor the Turks wickedneſſe yet come to the full ripeneſſe, to have this great judgement laid upon them. *Anno Dom.*

Soli Deo gloria.

The Preface to the Chronologie.

HErein I preſent the Reader with a generall view and ſynopſis of the whole ſtory of the age of the Holy Warre; that he may ſee the coherence betwixt the Eaſt and the Weſt, and in what equipage and correſpondency of time the Aſian affairs go on with thoſe of Europe: for they will reflect a mutuall luſtre and plainneſſe on one another.

The Chronologie is marſhalled into Ranks & Files: The Ranks, or tranſverſe ſpaces, contain twentie yeares on a ſide; the Files, or columnes directly downward, are appropriated to thoſe ſeverall States whoſe name they bear.

In the ſix firſt columnes I have followed Helvicus with an implicite faith, without any remarkable alteration, both in ingraffing of yeares and making them concurre, as alſo leaving ſometimes emptie ſpaces. In the other columnes I have followed ſeverall authours, and left the yeares unnoted where the time was uncertain; counting it better to bring in an Ignoramus then to find a verdict where the evidence was doubtfull and obſcure.

Such long notes as would not be impriſoned within the grates of this Chronology, we have referred by aſterisks to the foot of the page.

Know that every note belongeth to that yeare wherein it beginneth, except ſigned with this mark ⊙; which reduceth it to the yeare it endeth in.

Br. ſtandeth for Brother: S. Sonne: M. Moneths: D. Dayes.

Note, whileſt there were Caliphs of Egypt, then the Sultans were but Deputies and Lieutenants; but afterwards the Mamaluke Sultans were abſolute Princes, acknowledging no Superiour.

A Chronologicall

Anno Dom.	Popes.	Emper. of the East.	Emper. of the West.	Kings of England.	Kings of France.	Holy Warre, & Kings of Jerusalem.
1095	URBANE the second. 8	ALEXIUS COMNENUS. 15	HENRY the fourth. 40	WILLIAM RUFUS. 8	PHILIP the first. 36	The Councel of Clermont foundeth the Holy Warre.
6	9	16	41	9	37	1. VOYAGE under GODFREY Duke of Bouillon.
7	10	17	42	10	38	Nice,
8	11	18	43	11	39	Antioch, wonne by the Christians.
9	M. 4 D. 18	19	44	12	40	Jerusalem,
1100	PASCHAL the second 2	20	45	13	41	GODFREY King of Jerusalem. 1
						BALDWINE his brother.
1	3	21	46	HENRY the first. 1	42	2. VOYAGE under severall Princes & Prelates. 1
2	4	22	47	2	43	Cesarea, Apamia, Laodicea, 2
3	5	23	48	3	44	3
4	6	24	49	4	45	Ptolemais, 4
5	7	25	M. 10	5	46	wonne by the Christians. 5
6	8	26	HENRY the fifth. 1	6	47	6
7	9	27	2	7	48	7
8	10	28	3	8	49	8
9	11	29	4	9	LEWIS the Grosse. 2	Tripolis, 9
1110	12	30	5	10	3	Berytus, Sidon 10
1	13	31	6	11	4	11
2	14	32	7	12	5	12
3	15	33	8	13	6	13
4	16	34	9	14	7	14

Table.

Princes of Antioch.	*Patriarchs of Antioch.*	*Patriarchs of Jeruſalem.*	*Mrs of Kn. Hoſpitallers.*	*Caliphs of Syria.*	*Caliphs of Egypt.*
				Mustetaher 1	Musteal 1
				2	2
				3	3
				4	4
Boemund. 1				5	5
2	*Patriarchs of Antioch.*	*Patriarchs of Jeruſalem.*	*Mrs of Kn. Hoſpitallers.*		
He is taken captive. 3	Bernard. 1	I. Arnulphus *M.* 5	I. Gerard. 1	6	6
Tancred manageth the State in his abſence. 4	2	II. Dabertus. He ſtickleth for Jeruſalem, to get it from the King: 1	2	7	Elamir, S. 1
5	3	2	3	8	2
Boemund ranſomed. 6	4	3	II. Reimund de Podio. 1	9	3
He unfortunately beſiegeth Charras; 7	5	Flieth to Antioch; 4	2	10	4
Travelleth into France; 8	6	1 III. Eremarus put in by the King, diſplaced by the Pope. Thence to Rome: 5	3	11	5
9	7	2 6	4	12	6
Returneth and waſteth Grecia with his navie. 10	8	3 Dieth in Sicily. 7	5	13	7
11	9	IV. Gibellinus, Archbiſhop of Arles. 1	6	14	8
Boemund the ſecond, S. yet a child, and 1	10	2	7	15	9
living in Apulia; in whoſe minoritie, firſt Tancred, then 2	11	3	8	16	10
Roger his kinſman, were Princes in truſt. 3	12	4	9	17	11
4	13	V. Arnulphus, Archdeacon of Jeruſalem. 1	10	18	12
5	14	2	11	19	13
6	15	3	12	20	14

A Chronologicall

Anno Dom.	Popes.	Emper. of the East.	Emper. of the West.	Kings of England.	Kings of France.	Holy warre, and Kings of Jeruſalem.
1115	17	35	10	15	8	15
6	18	36	11	16	9	16
7	M. 5 D. 9	37	12	17	10	Baldwines voyages into Egypt; 1. when he took Pharamia 17
8	Gelasius 1 D. 5.	Calo-Johannes S. 1	13	18	11	2. when he got his death. 18
9		2	14	19	12	Baldwine the ſecond, his kinſman. 1
1120	Calixtus the ſecond. 2	3	15	20	13	2
1	3	4	16	21	14	3
2	4	5	17	22	15	He fighteth on diſadvantage with the Turks, and is taken captive. 4
3	5	6	18	23	16	5
4	M. 10 D. 13	7	M. 9	24	17	He is dearly ranſomed. 6 Tyre taken by the Chriſtians
5	Honorius the ſecond. 2	8	Lotharius the Saxon. 1	25	18	Baldwine getteth ſo much ſpoil from the conquered Turks as ſerveth to pay his ranſome. 7
6	3	9	2	26	19	8
7	4	10	3	27	20	9
8	5	11	4	28	21	10
9	M. 2 D. 3	12	5	29	22	11
1130	Innocentius 1 the ſecond.	13	6	30	23	12
1	2	14	7	31	24	* 13
2	3	15	8	32	25	Fulk Earl of Anjou, in right of Millecent his wife, eldeſt daughter to K. Baldwine. 1
3	4	16	9	33	26	2
4	5	17	10	34	27	3

* *Anno* 1131. Helvicus giveth Baldwine the ſecond ſixteen yeares: but herein he is deceived; as alſo in allowing King Fulk but eight. We, according to the conſent of the beſt Authours, have given the former thirteen, the latter ten.

Table.

Princes of Antioch.	*Patriarchs of Antioch.*	*Patriarchs of Jerusalem.*	*Mrs of Kn. Hospitallers*		*Caliphs of Syria.*	*Caliphs of Egypt.*
7	16	4	13		21	15
8	17	5	14		22	16
9	18	He is accused for his wicked life; posteth to Rome, and there buyeth to be innocent. 6	15		23	17
10	19	7	16	*Mrs of Kn. Templars.*	MUSTE-RASCHAD S. 1	18
Roger fighting unadvisedly with the Turks is slain ⊙ 11	20	VI. GUARIMUND of Amiens. 1	17	HUGH de Paganis, & 1	2	19
12	21	2	18	GODFRID of S. Omars 2	3	20
13	22	3	19	3	4	21
14	23	4	20	These first nine yeares there were but nine Templars, 4	5	22
15	24	5	21	5	6	23
16	25	6	22	6	7	24
Boemund now of age, cometh to Antioch, & 17	26	7	23	7	RASCHID S. afterwards deposed by 1	25
marrieth King Baldwines 18	27	8	24	8	the WISE-MAN of the Ismaelites, 2	26
daughter. 19	28	9	25	The Order of the 9	3	27
20	29	VII. STEPHANUS suspected to have been poysoned by the King. 1	26	Templars confirmed by the 10		28
21	30	2	27	Pope and a Councel. 1		29
He is surprised and slain in 22	31	VIII. WILLIAM Prior of the Sepulchre. 1	28	EVERARD master of the Templars, to 2		30
Alice the Relict of Boemund, Princesse 1	32	2	29	whom Peter Cluniacensis writ 3		31
Regent in the minoritie of 2	33	3	30	a book in praise of 4		32
Constantia her daughter. 3	34	4	31	this Order.		33
4	35	5	32			34

A Chronologicall

Anno Dom.	Popes.	Emper. of the East.	Emper. of the West.	Kings of England.	Kings of France.	Holy Warre, & Kings of Jeruſalem.
1135	6	18	11	35	28	4
6	7	19	12	STEPHEN the Uſurper. 1	29	5
7	8	20	13	2	30	6
8	9	21	CONRADUS the third. 1	3	LEWIS the ſeventh, or the Younger. 1	7
9	10	22	2	4	2	8
1140	11	23	3	5	3	9
1	12	24	4	6	4	10
2	13	M. 7	5	7	5	BALDWINE the third, S. Edeſſa wonne by Sanguine from the Chriſtians. 1
3	M. 7 D. 8	EMANUEL Comnenus, 1 S.	6	8	6	2
4	CELESTINE the ſecond, M. 5	2	7	9	7	3
5	LUCIUS the ſecond. M. 11	3	8	10	8	4
6	EUGENIUS the third. 1	4	9	11	9	5
7	2	5	10	12	10	3. VOYAGE under Conrade the Emperour, & Lewis King of France. 6
8	3	6	11	13	11	Damaſcus beſieged in vain. 7
9	4	7	12	14	12	Diſcords betwixt Baldwine and his mother Millecent. 8
1150	5	8	13	15	13	9
1	6	9	14	16	14	10
2	7	10	FREDERICUS Barbaroſſa. 1	17	15	11
3	M. 4 D. 12	11	2	18	16	12
4	ANASTASIUS the fourth. M. 4 D. 24	12	3	19	17	Baldwine taketh the citie of Askelon. 13

Table.

Princes of Antioch.	*Patriarchs of Antioch.*	*Patriarchs of Ierusalē.*	*Mrs of Kn. Hospitallers*	*Mrs of Kn. Templars.*	*Caliphs of Syria.*	*Caliphs of Egypt.*
5	36	6	33		MUCTAPHIL S. to Mustaher. 1	35
REIMUND Earl of Poictou, in right of Constantia his wife. 1	RODULPHUS chosen Patriarch by the Laitie. 1	7	34		2	ELHAPHIT, S. In the 20 yeare of his reigne he was killed by one Nosradine. *Vide Tyr. lib.* 18. *cap.* 49. *& Calvis in Anno* 1156. 1
He acknowledgeth himself vassall to the Grecian Emperour; and resigneth Cilicia to him. 2	2	8	35		3	2
3	3	9	36	ROBERT of Burgundie, *Tyr. lib.* 15. *c* 6	4	3
4	4	10	37		5	4
5	5	11	38		6	5
6	6	12	39		7	6
7	ALMERICUS 1	13	40		8	7
8	2	14	41		9	8
9	3	15	42		10	9
10	4	9. FULCHER Archbishop of Tyre. 1	43		11	10
11	5	2	44		12	11
He honourably entertaineth the K. of Fran. 12	6	3	45		13	12
Is slain in battel by Noradine 13 *Tyr. lib.* 17. *c.* 9	7	4	46		14	13
CONSTANTIA his wid. Princesse. 1	8	5	47	Gaza given to the Templars to defend BERNARD de Trenellape.	15	14
2	9	6	48		16	15
3	10	7	49		17	16
4	11	8	50	The Templars with BERNARD their Master, through their own covetousnesse slain at Askelon. ⊙	18	17
RAINOLD of Castile marrieth Constantia, and is Prince. in her right. ⊙ 1	12	The Hospitallers rebel against the Patriarch & deny to pay tithes. 9	51		19	18
	13	10	52		20	19

A Chronologicall

Anno Dom.	*Popes.*	*Emper. of the East.*	*Emper. of the West.*	*Kings of England.*	*Kings of France.*	*Holy warre, and Kings of Jeruſalem.*
1155	ADRIAN the fourth. 2	13	4	HENRY the ſecond. 1	18	14
6	3	14	5	2	19	15
7	4	15	6	3	20	16
8	*M.* 8 *D.* 28	16	7	4	21	17
9	ALEXANDER the third. 1	17	8	5	22	18
1160	2	18	9	6	23	Order of the Carmelites firſt begun in Syria. 19
1	3	19	10	7	24	20
2	4	20	11	8	25	21
3	5	21	12	9	26	ALMERICK his Br. 1
4	6	22	13	10	27	2
5	7	23	14	11	28	3
6	8	24	15	12	29	At the inſtance of Sultan Saner he goeth into Egypt, and driveth out Syracon. 4
7	9	25	16	13	30	Ceſarea-Philippi loſt. 5
8	10	26	17	14	31	Almerick contrary to his promiſe invadeth Egypt. 6
9	11	27	18	15	32	7
1170	12	28	19	16	33	He taketh a voyage into Grecia, to viſit the Emperour his kinſman. 8
1	13	29	20	17	34	9
2	14	30	21	18	35	10
3	15	31	22	19	36	11
4	16	32	23	20	37	BALDVVINE the fourth. 1

Table.

Princes of Antioch.	*Patriarchs of Antioch.*	*Patriarchs of Jeruſalem.*	*Mrs of Kn. Hoſpitallers*	*Mrs of Kn. Templars.*	*Caliphs of Syria.*	*Caliphs of Egypt.*
He, to deſpite the Grecian Emperour, waſteth the iſland Cyprus. 2	Almerick 14 cruelly tormented for 15 ſpeaking againſt Pr. Reinolds marriage. 16	In vain he crawleth to Rome to complain of them. 11	53	BERTRAND de Blanchfort. 1	21	20
3		12	* 54	2	22	ELHADACH. 1
4		13	III. AUGERIUS de Balben.	He is taken priſoner, *Tyr. l.18.c.15* 3	23	Theſe Caliphs of Egypt are very difficult 2 to regulate by
5	17	14		PHILIP of Naples. 1	24	Chronologie; and are ever 3 Heteroclites,
6	18	X. AMALRICUS Prior of 1 the Sepulchre.		Afterward 2	25	either deficient or redun- 4
7	19	2	IIII. ARNOLDUS de Campis.	he renounceth his place, *Tyr. lib.20.c.24.*	26	dant in the proportion of 5 time conſenting with other
Reinold carried 8 captive to Aleppo.	20	3			MUSTENEGED. 1	Princes. Hitherto we have 6
BOEMUND the 1 third, S. to Reimund.	He preſcribeth 21 rules to the Car-	4			2	followed *Helvicus*; now 7 adhere to *Tyrius, lib. 19.*
2	melites. 22	5			3	*cap.19.& lib.* 8 *20.cap.12.*
3	23	6			4	9
4	24	7	V. GILBERTUS Aſſalit:	12 Templars hanged for traycours.	5	Sanar & Dargon fight for 10 the Sultany of
He is conquered and taken 5	25	8	Who to get Peluſium for his own	OTTO de Sancto Amando, one	6	Egypt. 11
priſoner; ranſometh 6 himſelf.	26	9	Order, inſtigated K.	that feared	7	12
7	27	10	Almerick (contrary to his oath)	neither God nor	8	13
8	28	11	to invade Egypt.	man, *Tyr. lib.21.c.29.*	9	14
9	29	12			MUSTEZI, 1 S.	15
10	30	13	VI. CASTUS.		2	*Turkiſh K. 16 of Egypt.*
11	31	14			3	SALADINE with his horſe-
12	32	15	VII. JOBERTUS.	The Templars baſely kill the	4	mace knocketh out the brains of El-
13	33	16		Embaſſadour of the Aſſaſines.	5	hadach the laſt Turkiſh Caliph in Egypt, *Tyr. lib.20. cap.12.*

* 1156. This catalogue of the Maſters of the Hoſpitallers I find in Hoſpinian, *De origine Monachatûs.* It ſeemeth ſtrange this Neſtor Rodulphus ſhould govern his Order 54 yeares; yet it appeareth to be ſo, if we compare *Tyrius, lib.14.cap.6.*

A Chronologicall

Anno Dom.	Popes.	Emper. of the East.	Emper. of the West.	Kings of England.	Kings of France.	Holy Warre, & Kings of Jerusalem.
1175	17	33	24	21	38	2
6	18	34	25	22	39	William Marquesse of Montferrat marrieth Sibyll the Kings sister. 3
7	19	35	26	23	40	Saladine shamefully conquered at Askelon. 4
8	20	36	27	24	41	5
9	21	37	28	25	42	Fatall jealousies betwixt the King and Reimund Prince of Tripoli for many yeares. 6
1180	M. 11 D. 29	M. 5. Alexius Comnen9. 1	29	26	Philip Augustus, S. 1	7
1	Lucius the third. 1	2	30	27	2	8
2	2	Andronicus, S. 1	31	28	3	9
3	3	2	32	29	4	Baldwine disabled with leprosie retireth himself from managing the State. 10
4	4	M. 11.	33	30	5	11
5	M. 3 D. 28 Urbane the third.	Isaacius Angelus. 1	34	31	6	Baldwine the fifth, after eight moneths poysoned.
6	M. 10 D. 25	2	35	32	7	Guy de Lusignan in right of Sibyll his wife. 1
7	Gregory the eighth. M. 1. D. 27.	3	36	33	8	Conrade Marquesse of Montferrat defendeth Tyre, and is chosen King. 1 / Guy taken prisoner; Jerusalem won by Saladine. 2
8	Clement the third. 1	4	37	34	9	2 / Guy having got libertie, besiegeth Ptolemais. 3
9	2	5	38	M. 7. Richard the first. 1	10	3 A VOYAGE under Frederick surnamed Barbarossa. 4
1190	3	6	Henry the sixth, S. 1	2	11	4 5. VOYAGE under Rich. of Engl. / Philip of Fran 5
1	M. 2 D. 10	7	2	3	12	5 Conrade murdered in the market-place of Tyre. Ptolemais taken. 6
2	Celestine the third. 2	8	3	4	13	Guy exchangeth his Kingdome of Jerusalem for Cyprus. 7
3	3	M. 7. 9	4	5	14	Henry Earl of Champaigne. 1
4	4	Alexius Comnen9 Angelus. 1	5	6	15	2

Table.

Princes of Antioch.	*Patriarchs of Antioch*	*Patriarchs of Ierusalē.*	*Mrs of Kn. Hospitallers*	*Mrs of Kn. Templars.*		*Caliphs of Syria.*	*Turkish K. of Egypt.*
14	34	17				6	
15	35	18	VIII. ROGER de Moris.			7	
Reinold of Castile, once Prince of Antioch, ransomed 16	36	19				8	He getteth Damascus & the whole 1
from captivity. 17	37	20		ARNOLDUS de Troge, *Tyr. lib. 22. c. 7*		9	Turkish kingdome in Syria, (*Tyr. lib. 21. c. 6.*) in 2
18	38	21				10	despite of 3
Boemund by putting away 19	39	22				NARZAI, S. 1	Noradines sonne. 4
Theodora his lawfull wife, 20	40	XI. HERACLIUS, Archbish. 1				2	These great figures reckō Saladines 5
causeth much trouble in this State. 21	41	of Cesarea. 2				3	reigne of 16 yeares (for so many, Authours give 6
22	42	3				4	him) frō his seising of the 7
23	43	4		He dieth in an Embassie to the Princes in Europe.		5	kingdome of Damasc. But if we count 8
24	44	He travelleth into the West, 5	He went with Heraclius into the West;	GERARDUS RIDFORD.		6	his reigne from the killing of the 9
25	Antioch by the Patriarch betrayed to Saladine. 45	cometh into England, 6	returneth:			7	Egyptian Caliph, 10
26	46	consecrateth the Temple-church in Londō, 7	is slain in a battel neare Ptolemais.	He is taken prisoner.		8	he began far sooner 11
27	*	8	IX. GARNERIUS de Neapoli Syriæ.	TERICUS, Master of the Templars during Gerards durance.	*Mrs of Dutch Knights*	9	12
28		& returneth without any aid 9		Gerard is set at libertie, and slain in the siege of Ptolemais.		10	13
Antioch wonne again frō the Turks by Frederick D. of Suevia.		10			HENRY I a-Walpot. 1	11	14
		11			2	12	15
The time of Boemunds death is as uncertain as who was his Successour; onely we find from this time forward, the same Princes (but without name or certain date) styled both of Antioch & Tripoli.		He lived vitiously, and died obscurely. **		**	3	13	16
			X. ERMEGARDUS DAPS.		4	14	SAPHADINE, Br. to Saladine. 1
					5	15	2

* 1188. That Antioch was betrayed by a Patriarch, is plain by Sabellicus: but whether Almericus was this traytour-Patriarch, or whether it was done by the Grecian Antipatriarch, is uncertain. Here we cease that columne, as despairing to continue their succession any longer.

** 1192. Here is a subject for industry to deserve well, in filling up the χάσμα of the Masters of the Templars, from the death of Gerard till the yeare 1215, whose names we cannot find.

*** 1193. Hitherto the succession of the Patriarchs of Jerusalem is accurately collected out of Tyrius. The Order of those which follow, is not so authentick, being catcht as we might out of severall Authours.

A Chronologicall

Anno Dom.	Popes.	Emper. of the East.	Emper. of the West.	Kings of England.	Kings of France.	Holy Warre, & Kings of Jerusalem.
1195	5	2	6	7	16	3
6	6	3	7	8	17	ALMERICK the second, King also of Cyprus. 1
7	M. 9 D. 11	4	8	9	18	6. VOYAGE, under Henry Duke of Saxonie. 2
8	INNOCENTIUS the third. 1	5	9	10	19	Henry the Palatine, Herman Landtgrave, &c. winne Berytus The Dutch men miserably killed on St Martines day. 3
9	2	6	OTHO the fourth. 1	11	20	Simon Earl of Montfort cometh into Palestine and maketh a profitable peace. 4
1200	3	7	2	JOHN his Br. 1	21	5
1	4	8	3	2	22	6
2	5	ISAACIUS again with ALEXIUS his S. 9	4	3	23	7. VOYAGE, under Baldwine Earl of Flandres; but by the Pope diverted against the Grecian usurping Emperour. 7
3	6	BALDWINE Earl of Flandres. 1	5	4	24	8
4	7	2	6	5	25	1 INTERREGNUM of 5 years. Almerick dieth of a surfet, according to *Marinus Sanutus*. 9
5	8	HENRY his Br. 1	7	6	26	2 10
6	9	2	8	7	27	3 The Holy warre turned against the Albingenses in France. 11
17	10	3	9	8	28	4 12
18	11	4	10	9	29	5 Almerick for his lazinesse deposed by the Pope, dieth soon after. 13
19	12	5	11	10	30	JOHN BREN made King of Jerusalem by the Pope. 1
1210	13	6	12	11	31	2
1	14	7	13	12	32	3
12	15	8	FREDERICK the second. 1	13	33	4
3	16	9	2	14	34	An army of children going to the Holy warre wofully perish by the way. 5
4	17	10	3	15	35	6

Table.

Princes of Antioch.	Patriarchs of Ieruſalē.	Mrs of Kn. Hoſpitallers	Mrs of Kn. Templars.	Mrs of Dutch Knights.		Caliphs of Syria.		Turkiſh Kings of Egypt.	
					6		16	Betwixt him and Saladines ſonnes (whom at laſt he conquered and ſubdued) was long warre to the great comfort and profit of the Chriſtians.	3
					7		17		4
					8		18		5
	XII. Albertus ſucceedeth Heraclius, *Spond.*				9		19		6
					10		20		7
				II. Otto a-Kerpin.	1		21		8
					2		22		9
		XI. Gotfridus de Dnyjon.			3		23		10
					4		24		11
	He perfecteth and writeth a Rule to the Carmelites, *Idem.*				5		25		12
			Leo King of Armenia reſtoreth to the Templars what he had violently taken from them		6		26		13
				III. Hermannus Bart.	1		27		14
					2		28	1 Meladine (as moſt compute) ſucceedeth his father Saphadine in Egypt.	15
					3		29	2	16
					4		30	3	17
	XIII. Thomas Agni.			IV. Hermannus a Saltza.	1		31	4	18
					2		32	5	19
		XII. Alphonsus de Portugallia			3		33	6	20
					4		34	7	21
					5		35	8	22

Anno Dom.	Popes.	Emper. of the East.	Emper. of the West.	Kings of England.	Kings of France.	Holy warre, and Kings of Jerusalem.
1215	18	11	4	16	36	The great Laterane Councel, to advance the Holy warre. 7
6	M. 6 D. 9	PETER Earl of Auxerre. 1	5	17	37	8. VOYAGE under Andrew King of Hungarie. 8
7	HONORIUS the third. 2	2	6	HENRY the third, 1 S.	38	9
8	3	3	7	2	39	Damiata { besieged. 10 / taken. 11
9	4	4	8	3	40	
1220	5	5	9	4	41	The Christians intrapped in water, restore Damiata for their libertie; and conclude an eight-yeares truce. 12 13
1	6	ROBERT. 1	10	5	42	
2	7	2	11	6	43	14
3	8	3	12	7	He dieth. 44	John Bren cometh into France, and there receiveth rich legacies from Philip Augustus. 15 16
4	9	4	13	8	LEWIS the eighth. 1	
5	10	5	14	9	2	17
6	M. 8.	6	15	10	3	He is honourably entertained at Rome, and resigneth his kingdome. 18
7	GREGORY the ninth. 1	7	16	11	S[t] LEWIS. 1	FREDERICK, by marriage of Iole Brens daughter. 1
8	2	BALDWINE the second. 1	17	12	2	2
9	3	2	18	13	3	9. VOYAGE under Frederick; who crowned 3
1230	4	3	19	14	4	himself King of Jerusalem; and concluding a ten-yeares truce, returneth into Europe, leaving Reinold Duke of Bavaria his Vice-Roy in Palestine. 4 5
1	5	4	20	15	5	
2	6	5	21	16	6	6
3	7	6	22	17	7	7
4	8	7	23	18	8	8

Table.

Princes of Antioch.	*Patriarchs of Ieruſalē.*	*Mrs of Kn. Hoſpitallers*	*Mrs of Kn. Templars.*	*Maſters of Dutch Kn.*	*Caliphs of Syria.*	*Turkiſh Kings of Egypt.*
	He is preſent in the Laterane Councel to ſolicite the Holy warre.	XIII. GOTHERIDUS de-la-Rat.	P. de Monte acuto.	6	36	9 Saphadine (according to *M. Paris, p.* 404.) 23
				7	37	10 dieth for grief that the fort nigh to Damiata was taken. 24
				8	38	11 ⊙ 25
			He fighteth ſtoutly with the reſt of his Order at the taking of Damiata, *Mat. Paris, pag.* 409 & 419.	9	39	12 MELADINE 1
				10	40	13 2
				11	41	14 Is wonderfully kind to the Chriſtians half-drowned in Egypt. 3
				12	42	15 4
				13	43	16 5
		60000 crowns bequeathed by the K. of Fr. to the Hoſpit. & Templars.		14	44	17 6
	XIIII. GERALDUS.		OLIVER.	15	45	18 7
		XIIII. GUARINUS de Monte acuto.		16	TAHER S. 1	19 8
	A bitter enemy he was to Frederick the Emperour, and ſided with the Pope & Templars againſt him.			17	2	20 9
				18 The Dutch Knights under Hermannus their Maſter come into Pruſſia; yet ſo	3	21 10
		XV. CERVIUS.		19	4	22 11
			An inveterate enemie to Frederick, whom he moſt ſpitefully and treacherouſly uſed.	20		23 12
The Pr. of Antioch dieth without lawfull iſſue.				* 21 as many of them ſtill remained in Syria.		24 13
		XVI. BERTRANDUS de Campis.		22		25 14
FREDERICK baſe S. to Fred. the Emp. 1 is by Reinoldus Vice-roy of Ieruſalē made Pr. of 2 Antioch, in ſpite of Henr. K. of Cyprus, who claimed 3 that place.				23		26 15
				24		27 16
				25	MUSTENATZER.	28 17

* 1230. Severall Authours aſſigne ſeverall dates wherein the Dutch Knights came into Pruſſia: Perchance they came in ſeverall parcels. Their ſucceſſion I had out of Pantaleon, Munſter, and the Centuriſts. *Quære* whether theſe Maſters of the Dutch Knights in Pruſſia had alſo command over thoſe of their Order in Syria.

Anno Dom.	Popes.	Emper. of the East.	Emper. of the West.	Kings of England.	Kings of France.	Holy Warre, & Kings of Jerusalem.
1235	9	8	24	19	9	9
6	10	9	25	20	10	10
7	11	10	26	21	11	11
8	12	11	27	22	12	The former ten-yeares Truce expired, Reinold concludeth another of the same term. 12
9	13	12	28	23	13	10. VOYAGE under Theobald King of Navarre. 13
1240	14 M. 5.	13	29	24	14	He is unfortunately overthrown in battel at Gaza. 14
1	CELESTINE the fourth. D. 17.	14	30	25	15	11. VOYAGE under Richard Earl of Cornwall. 15
2	The See void.	15	31	26	16	16
3	INNOCENTIUS the fourth. 1	16	32	27	17	17
4	2	17	33	28	18	The Corasines conquer the Christians, and sack Jerusalem. 18
5	3	18	34	29	19	19
6	4	19	35	30	20	20
7	5	20	36	31	21	12. VOYAGE under S. Lewis King of France. 21
8	6	21	37	32	22	He arriveth in Cyprus, & there wintereth; 22
9	7	22	38	33	23	taketh Damiata; beateth the Saracens. 23
1250	8	23	INTERREGNUM of 23 yeares, wherein there were many Competitours for the Empire. 1	34	24	Robert Earl of Artois slain. Lewis taken prisoner. 1 INTERREGNUM of 14 yeares.
1	9	24	2	35	25	The Pastorells overthrown in France. 2
2	10	25	3	36	26	King Lewis being ransomed cometh into Palestine; recovereth and fortifieth Sidon: 3
3	11	26	4	37	27	returneth into France. 4
4	M. 5 D. 14	27	5	38	28	5

Princes of Antioch.	Patriarchs of Jerusalem.	Mrs of Kn. Hospitallers	Mrs of Kn. Templars.	Mrs of Dutch Kn.	Caliphs of Syria	Turkish Ks of Egypt.
4				26		29 18
5				27		30 19
6				28		31 20
7				29		32 21
8				30		33 22
9				31		34 23
10	XV. ROBERTUS		HERMANNUS Petragorinus, *M. Paris, pag.* 726.	V. CONRADE Landtgrave of Hassia. 1		35 24
11		XVII. PETRUS de Villebride;		2		36 25
12				3		37 26
13	He was in the battel against the Cotasines: as appeareth in *M. Paris*; where he writeth a bemoning letter.	taken captive by the Corasines, *M. Paris pag.* 833. XVIII. GUILIELMUS de Castello novo, *M. Paris, pag.* 836.	All the Templars slain to eighteen,* the Hospitallers to nineteen, the Dutch Knights to three.	4		38 27
14				5		39 28
15				6		40 29
The Antiochians fighting unadvisedly with the Turks, are overthrown. 16				7		He dieth at Damiata's taking. 30
				8		MELECHSALA, S. 1
				9		*Mammaluke Sultans of Egypt.* 2
CONRADE S. to Frederick Prince of Antioch.	The Patriarch of Jerusalem was taken prisoner with the King of France *Magdeburg. Cent.* 13. *col.* 697.	All the Hospitallers with their Master slain to one. XIX. HUGO REVEL: He made a statute whereby women were admitted into this Order.	All the Templars with their Master slain to two.	10		TARQUINUS. 1
				11		2
				12	*Great Chãs of Tartary.*	3
				VI. POPPO. 1	MANGO perswaded by Haito K. of Armenia to turn Christian. 1	4
				2	2	

* 1245 Here we are at another losse for the names of the Templars, and will be thankfull to those which will help us to them.

A Chronologicall

Anno Dom.	Popes.	Emper. of the East.	Emper. of the West.	Kings of England.	Kings of France.	Holy warre, and Kings of Jerusalem.
1255	ALEXANDER the fourth. 2	28	6	39	29	6
6	3	29	7	40	30	7
7	4	30	8	41	31	8
8	5	31	9	42	32	These 10 yeares following the Genoans fighting against the Venetians and Pisans, 9
9	6	32	10	43	33	hasten the ruine of the Christians in Palestine. 10
1260	M. 5 D. 5	MICHAEL Palæologus. 1	11	44	34	11
1	URBANE the fourth. 1	2	12	45	35	12
2	2	3	13	46	36	13
3	3	4	14	47	37	14
4	M. 1 D. 4	5	15	48	38	CHARLES Earl of Anjou, by the Pope made King of Jerusalem and Sicilie. 1
5	CLEMENT the fourth. 1	6	16	49	39	2
6	2	7	17	50	40	3
7	3	8	18	51	41	4
8	M. 9 D. 25	9	19	52	42	5
9	The See void.	10	20	53	43 1	HUGH King of Cyprus. 13. VOYAGE under St Lewis King of France, 6
1270		11	21	54	44 2	Charles of Sicilie, and our Prince Edward. Tunis taken. Lewis dieth 7
1	GREGORY the tenth. 1	12	22	55	PHILIP the Bold. 1 3	Prince Edward cometh to Ptolemais; 8
2	2	13	23	56	24	is desperately wounded, yet recovereth. 9
3	3	14	RODULPH ab *Haspurg.* 1	EDWARD the first. 1	35	10
4	4	15	2	2	46	11

Table.

Princes of Antioch.	*Patriarchs of Ierusalem.*	*Mrs of Kn. Hospitallers*	*Masters of Dutch Knights*	*Caliphs of Syria.*	*Great Chãs of Tartary.*	*Mammaluke Sultans of Egypt.*
	XVI. PANTALEON, a Frenchman.		3		3	
			4	MUSTEAZEM, the last Caliph of Syria, a covetous miser, cõquered by the Tartarians. 2	4	MELECH, otherwise called CLOTHES
			5		Haalach Br. to Mango taketh the citie of Babylon. 5	
			6		6	
			7		7	
Haalach the Tartarian cometh to Antioch; is there kindly entertained by Prince Conrade	He is made Pope by the name of Urbane the fourth, *Platina.*		8		8	BENDOC-IDAR.
			9		HAALACH succeedeth his Br. Mango. 1	2
			10		2	3
			11		3	4
Conrade cometh into Europe to succour Conradine his kinsman.			12		ABAGA Cham his S. 1	He winneth the kingdome of Damascus from the Tartarian: 5
			VII. HANNO de Sanger Hausen. 1		2	6
		XX. NICOLAUS Longar.	2		3	taketh Siphet, & killeth all that would not turn Mahometanes: 7
			3		4	8
Antioch in the absence of Conrade wonne by Bendocdar.			4		5	winneth Joppa. 9
			5		6	10
BOEMUND the fourth.			6		7	11
			7		8	12
			8		9	13
			9		10	14
			10		11	15

A Chronologicall

Anno Dom.	*Popes.*	*Emper. of the East.*	*Emper. of the West.*	*Kings of England.*	*Kings of France.*	*Holy warre, and Kings of Jerusalem.*
1275	*M.* 4 *D.* 10	16	3	3	5	12 The last VOYAGE under Henry Duke of Mechlenburg. 7
6	INNOCENT the fifth. *M.* 5.	17	4	4	6	13 8
7	ADRIAN the fifth. *M.* 1 *D.* 7	18	5	5	7	14 MARIA DOMICELLA Princesse of 9
8	JOHN the 20. *M.* 8 *D.* 8	19	6	6	8	15 Antioch, resigneth her right of the 10
9	NICOLAS the third *M.* 8. *D.* 29	20	7	7	9	16 Kingdome of Jerusalem to 11
1280	The See void.	21	8	8	10	Charles. 17 12
1	MARTINE the second. 1	22	9	9	11	18 13
2	2	23	10	10	12	The Sicilian 19 Vespers. 14
3	3	ANDRONICUS PALEOLOGUS 1	11	11	13	20 15
4	4	2	12	12	14	1 CHARLES the second, surnamed the JOHN his S. 1
5	*M.* 1 *D.* 7	3	13	13	15	2 Lame, or the Delayer. HENRY his Br. 1
6	HONORIUS the fourth. 2	4	14	14	PHILIP the Fair. 1	3 2
7	*D.* 2.	5	15	15	2	4 3
8	NICOLAS the fourth. 1	6	16	16	3	5 Tripoli Sidon } loft. 4
9	2	7	17	17	4	6 Berytus Tyre ⊙ } 5
1290	3	8	*M.* 9.	18	5	7 Ptolemais besieged; 6
1	4	9	ADOLPHUS of Nassau. 1	19	6	8 taken: And the Latine Christians finally expelled out of Syria. 7
2	*M.* 1 *D.* 14	10	2	20	7	9 8
3	The See void.	11	3	21	8	10 9
4	CELESTINE the V. *M.* 5. *D.* 7. BONIFACE the eighth.	12	4	22	9	11 10

If the Reader do observe any difference betwixt our former computation in the Book and our Chronologie here, let him rather rely on this latter, which I take to be better perfected.

Table.

Princes of Antioch.	*Patriarchs of Jerusalē.*	*Mrs of Kn. Hospitallers*	*Mrs of Kn. Templars.*	*Masters of Dutch Kn.*	*Great Chās of Tartary.*	*Māmaluke Sultans of Egypt.*
Dieth *May* 11. 1 BOEMUND the fifth, S.				11	12	16
under the tuition of the Bishop of Tortosa. 2		XXI. JOHN de Villiers.		12	13	Dieth by cold gotten with swiming in Euphrates. 17
3				HERMANNUS the third. 1	14	MELECHSAIT, or MELECHSARES. 1
4				2	15	2
5				3	16	3
6				4	He is poyſoned by the 17	4
7				5	Sultan of Babylon. ⊙ 18	5
Boemund now of age, ſideth 8	About this time we find a			6	TANGODOR his Br. ſtyled 1	6
againſt the Templars to 9	nameleſſe Patriarch of Jeru-	XXII. ODO de Pinibus.		7	himſelf Mahomet Cham 2	7
the deſtruction of the Chriſtian cauſe. 10	ſalem,——			8	and was a great perſecutour of the 3	8
11			PETER Belius, a valiant ſouldier.	BURCHARD Schuadens. 1	Chriſtians. ARGON Cham killed 1	He expelleth the Carmelites out of 9
12				2	his Br. Mahomet; he favoureth the 2	Syria for changing their coats. 10
LUCIE his 1				3	Chriſtians. 3	11
ſiſter, married in Europe. 2		The Hoſpitallers winne the caſtle of Mergath.		4	RAGAITHUS 4	12
Vide Calviſ. in hac anno. 3	—who fled out of Ptolemais			5	his Br. a lazie voluptuous 1 glutton. ⊙	ELPIS, or ALPHIX. 1
How-ever, one HUGH 4	when it was beſieged, and	XXIII. VIGILBELMUS de Villaret.	He is choſen governour of Ptolemais, &	6	CASANUS, S. to Ar- 1	2
challengeth both the title of Antioch, and 5	was drowned in his flight:		therein ſlain.	Depoſed. 7	gon. He was very favourable to the 2	SERAPH, or 1
principalitie of Tripoli, 6	It ſeemeth his name was drowned with		JAMES Molaibergamon 1	CONRAD de Fertuangen. 1	Chriſtians: * 3	ARRAPHUS. 2
Knolls, pag. 123 7	him.		laſt maſter of the Templars in Syria, *Continuator belli ſacri, lib.* 5. 2	2	4	
8			*cap* 13, & 17. 3	3	5	

* For in the ninth yeare of his reigne he winneth the city of Jeruſalem & reſtoreth it to the Eaſtern Chriſtians; who ſoon after loſe it to the Sultan of Egypt.

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Dr Whitaker.
Dr White.

Z

Zuerius Boxhorn.

A table shewing the principall things contained in this Historie.

A	B.	Ch.
Baga maketh cowards valiant,	4	32
Abbeys, how and why suppressed in England,	5	6,7,8
Adamites against their will,	3	20
Albingenses; three opinions concerning them,		18
their originall, persecution, nicknames,		19
defended from crimes objected,		20
commended by their adversaries,		ibid.
Alexius Emp. his treachery,	1	15
causeth the Christians overthrow,	2	9
his death and epitaph,		14
Alexius Angelus the younger a princely begger,	3	17
Almerick K. of Jerusalem his character,	2	33
he helpeth the Sultan of Egypt,		36
invadeth Egypt against promise,		37
his death,		ibid.
Almerick the second,	3	16
deposed for lazinesse,		23
Almerick Patriarch of {Antioch, / Jerusalem,	2	26
		34
Andronicus a bad practiser of S. Paul	3	3
Antioch wonne by the Christians,	1	17
betrayed by the Patr. to Saladine,	3	1
recovered by the Duke of Suevia,		4
finally lost to the Sultan of Egypt,	4	26
Apostasie of many Christians in Europe upon K. Lewis captivity,		17
Arms of Gentlemen deserved in this warre,	5	23
Arnulphus the firebrand-Patriarch of Jerusalem,	2	2,8,15
Assasines, their strange commonweal.		34

B		
Baldwine K. of Jerus. his nature,	2	7
he wins Antipatris & Cesarea,		10
his two voyages into Egypt, his death,		13
Baldwine the second chosen King,		14
he is taken prisoner, & ransomed,		17
he renounceth the world, & dieth,		18

Baldwine the third his character, 2 24
discord betwixt him & his mother 31
he winneth Ascalon, 32
his death, and commendation, ibid.
Baldwine the fourth, 38
he conquereth Saladine, 40,42
he is arrested with leprosie: his death, and praise, ibid.
Baldwine the fifth poisoned by his mother, 43
Baldwine Earl of Flanders Emperour of Constantinople, 3 17
Theodore Balsamon how cousened, 2 44
Battels at or neare *Dogargan*, 1 16
Antioch, 17
Askelon, 2 3
Rhamula, 10
Meander, 28
Tiberias, 45
Ptolemais, 3 5
Bethlehem, 11
Moret in France, 22
Gaza, 4 7
Tiberias, 10
Manzor in Egypt, 15
Manzor again, 16
Bendocdar Sultan of Egypt, 4 26,32
Bernard Patriarch of Antioch, 2 2
An apologie for S. Bernard, 2 30
Biblianders wild fansie, 1 10
Bishops numerous in Palestine, 2 2
Boemund prince of Antioch, 1 17
he is taken prisoner, 2 3
he wasteth Grecia, 11
Boemund the second, 18
Boemund the third, 36

C B. Ch.

Caliphs, their voluptuousnesse, 2 22,36
Calo-Johannes Grecian Emper. 21
Carmelites, their originall, luxury, and banishment, 26
Carthage described, 4 27
Chalices in England, why of latten, 3 13
Charatux one of the wisest men in the world, 4
Charles Earl of Anjou, K. of Jerusal. 4 25
he dieth for grief, 31
Charles the second, surnamed the Delayer, ibid.
Children marching to Jerusalem wofully perish, 3 24
Choermines, their obscure originall and finall suppression, 4 9 10
Clerks no fit Captains, 2 9 5 14
Clermont Councel, 1 8
Climate how it altereth health, 5 15
Conferences betwixt opposite parties in religion never succeed, 3 21
Conrade Emperour of Germanie his unfortunate voyage, 2 27
he conquereth the Turks, 28
Conrade of Montferrat K. of Jerus. 3 1
he is miserably slain, 10
Conversions of Pagans hindred by Christians badnesse, 2 34 4 12
how it must orderly and solemnly be done, 22 26

D B. Ch.

Dabertus Patriarch of Jerusal. he scuffleth with the Kings for that city, & dies in banishment, 2 2
Damascus described, 5,7,8
in vain besieged by the Christians 29 ibid.
Damiata twice taken by the Christians, and twice surrendred, 3 25,27 4 13,18
Danish service in this warre, 1 13 5 22
Drunkennesse wofully punished, 3 16
A Duell declined, 2 1
Duells forbidden by S^t Lewis, 4 27

E

Ebremarus Patriarch of Jerusal. 2 8
Prince Edward his voyage, 4 26
he is desperately wounded, and recovereth, 29
Elianor Qu. of France playeth false with her husband, 2 28
Elianor wife to Prince Edward, her unexampled love to her husband, 4 26

Elhadach Caliph of Egypt, 2 36
Emmanuel Emperour of Greece, 27
Engines before guns, 1 24
English service in this warre, 1 13; 5 22
Equality of undertakers ruineth this Holy warre, 13
Eustace refuseth the kingdome, 2 14

F

B. Ch.
Faith-breaking the cause of the Christians overthrow, 2 37; 5 11
Fames incredible swiftnesse, 1 8
The strength of imaginarie Fear 3 5
Forts make some countreys weaker, 3 4
Franks, how ancient in the East, 5 21
Fred. Barbarossa his unhappy voyage 3 3
his wofull drowning, 4
Frederick the second, K. of Jerusalem, his disposition, 3 29; 4 20
his grapplings with the Pope, 3 30; 4 1
his death, and posteritie, 20
French service in this warre, 1 13; 5 21
Fulcher Patriarch of Jerusalem, 2 25
Fulk King of Jerusalem, 19,23

G

Galilee described, 1 19
Genoans atchievements in this warre, 2 10
Germane service in this warre, 1 13; 5 21
Germane Nobility numerous, ibid.
St George, 1 17
Gibellines and Guelfes, 4 1
Godfrey King of Jerusalem, 2 1
his vertuous vice, ibid.
his death, 6
a Goose carried by the Pilgrimes to Jerusalem, 1 10
Greek Church rent from the Latine, 4 4
on what occasion, ibid.
wherein it dissenteth, 5
what charitably is to be thought of them, ibid.
what hope of reconcilement, 6
Guarimund Patriarch of Jerusalem, 2 15
Guy King of Jerusalem, 43
he is taken prisoner, 45
he exchangeth his Kingdome for Cyprus, 3 10

H

B. Ch.
Haalon Cham of Tartarie, 4 22,26
Helen no Osteresse, 1 4
Henry E. of Champaigne K. of Jerus. 3 11
his wofull death, 15
Henry Earl of Mechlenburgh his long captivity & late deliverance 4 30
Henry the fourth, K. of England, his intended voyage to Jerusalem, 5 24
Heraclius the vitious Patriarch of Jerusalem, 2 39
Holy fraud, 1 17
Holy warre, arguments for it, 1 9
arguments against it, 10
unlikely again to be set on foot, 5 27
Hugh King of Jerusalem and Cyprus, 4 25

I

James IV, K. of Scotland, hath some intentions for Jerusalem, 5 24
Janizaries their present insolencie, 5 29
Jerusalem destroyed by Titus, 1 1
rebuilt by Adrian, 2
largely described, 23
wonne by the Christians under Godfrey, 24
lost to Saladine, 2 46
recovered by Frederick the Emp. 3 31
finally wonne by the Choermines, 4 9
her present estate at this day, 5 26
Jews their wofull present condition, 1 3
the hindrance of their conversion, ibid.
Interviews of Princes dangerous, 3 6
John Bren K. of Jerusalem, 24
his discords with the Legate, ibid.
he resigneth his kingdome, 28
Irish service in this warre, 5 23
Isaacius Angelus Emp. of Constant. 3 1
Italian service in this warre, 1 13; 5 22
Judea described, 1 21

King

K	B.	Ch.
KIng *for* Deputie *in Eastern tongues,*	2	2
Three faults in the Kingdome of Jeruſalem which hindred the ſtrength of it,	5	18
Knights-Hoſpitallers their originall	2	4
they degenerate through wealth into luxury,		ibid.
they rebell againſt the Patriarch about tithes,		25
brawl with the Templars,	4	8
flit from Cypr⁹ by Rhodes to Malta	5	5
the manner of their ſuppreſſion in England,		6,7
in vain reſtored by Qu. Mary,		8
Knights-Templars inſtituted,	2	16
many ſlain through their own covetouſneſſe,		32
they become rich and proud,	4	8
their treachery hindereth the Holy warre,	5	17
they are finally exſtirpated out of Chriſtendome,		1
arguments for and againſt their innocency, with a moderate way betwixt them,		2,3
Knights Teutonicks their inſtitution	2	16
they are honoured with a grand Maſter,	3	5
they come into Pruſsia, their ſervice there,	5	4
Knights of the Sepulchre,	5	27
L		
LAterane Councel,	3	24
Length of the journey hindrance of this warre,	5	13
Leopoldus Duke of Auſtr. his valour,	3	8
Leproſie,	5	15
Lewis the Young K. of France his wofull journey,	2	27,28
S^t Lewis his voyage to Paleſtine,	4	11
he wintereth in Cyprus,		12
lands in Egypt, winnes Damiata,		13
is conquered and taken captive,		16
dearly ranſomed,		18
S^t Lewis his ſecond voyage,	4	26
he beſiegeth Tunis,		27
his death and praiſe,		ibid.
M	B.	Ch.
MAhometaniſme; the cauſe why it is ſo ſpreading,	1	6
Mammalukes their originall,	2	40
their miraculous Empire,	4	19
Maronites their tenents and reconcilement to Rome,	2	39
Meladine King of Egypt his bounty to the Chriſtians,	3	27
why not loved of his ſubjects,	4	14
his death,		ibid.
Melechſala his ſon King of Egypt,		ibid.
Melechſaites Sultan of Egypt,		32
Mercenary ſouldiers dangerous,	2	35
yet how, well qualified, they may be uſefull,		ibid.
Miracles of this warre examined, and ranked into foure ſorts: viz. 1 *not done;* 2 *falſely done;* 3 *done by Nature;* 4 *done by Satan;*	5	10
N		
NIce beſieged and taken by the Chriſtians,	1	16
Nilus his wonders and nature,	2	13
Northern armies may proſper in the South,	5	15
Norvegian ſervice,	1	13
	5	22
Numbers numberleſſe ſlain in theſe warres,		20
What Numbers competent in an army,		19
Numbers of Aſian armies, what we may conceive of them,		ibid.
O		
OBſervation of Rog. Hoveden confuted,	2	46
Offers at Paleſtine ſince the end of the warre,	5	24
Office of the Virgin why inſtituted,	1	8
Owls why honoured by the Tartarians,	4	2

P

	B.	Ch.
Palestine in generall described,	1	18
Pastorells in France slain,	4	21
Pelagius the Legate,	3	24
Peter the Hermite his character,	1	8
he proves himself but an hypocrite		ibid.
Peter K. of Aragon, a favourer of the Albingenses, slain in battel,	3	22
Philip Augustus K. of France his voyage to Palestine, and unseasonable return,		6
Pilgrimages proved unlawfull,	5	9
The Popes private profits by the Holy warre,	1	11
he the principall cause of the ill successe,	5	12
Polands service in this warre,	1	13
	5	22
Ptolemais wonne by the Christians,	2	11
regained by Saladine,		45
after three yeares siege recovered by the Christians,	3	8
finally taken by Sultan Serapha,	4	33

Q

Qualitie of the adventurers in this warre,	1	12

R

Red sea why so called,	2	13
Reformation, why Rome is averse from it,	4	4
Reimund Earl of Tripoli, his discords with Baldwine,	2	41
his apostasie to Saladine,		45
his suspicious death,		ibid.
Relicks how to be valued,	3	12
why so many before death Renounced the world,	2	18
Richard K. of England his voyage to Palestine,	3	6
he taketh Sicily and Cyprus in his passage,		7
vanquisheth Salad. in a set battel		11
in his return he is taken prisoner in Austria, and ransomed,		13
Richard Earl of Cornwall his voyage to Palestine,	4	8
Robert D. of Normandie his valour,	1	16
he refuseth the Kingdome of Jerusalem, and thriveth not after,	2	1
Rodulphus chosen unexpectedly Emperour of Germanie,	4	30
sendeth supplies to Syria,		ibid.
Rodulphus the unhappie Patriarch of Antioch,	2	20

S

	B.	Ch.
Sacriledge,	5	17
Saladine killeth the Caliph of Egypt,	2	37
succeeds in Egypt and Damascus,		ibid.
conquereth Guy,		45
taketh Jerusalem and all Syria,		46
his commendations and death,	3	14
Scholars without experience no good Generalls,	3	24
Scottish service in this warre,	1	13
	5	23
Sea and land-service compared,	4	24
Simon Earl of Montfort concludeth a truce in Syria,	3	16
chosen captain against the Albingenses,		22
is killed by a woman,		ibid.
Sidon described; wonne by the Christians,	2	12
lost to the Sultan of Egypt,	4	32
Spanish service in this warre,	1	13
	5	22
Stephen Patriarch of Jerusalem,	2	15
Superstition tainting this whole war,	5	9
Suspected souldiers in armies where to be placed,	4	10
Sultans their large commissions,	2	22
Sweden appeareth not in the Holy warre,	1	13

T

Tartaria described,	1	7
	4	2
Tartars, their name and nature,		ibid.
when first known to the world,		
converted to Christianitie,		22
their relapse to Paganisme,		26
the occasion,		ibid.

	B.	Ch.
Theobald King of Navarre his unhappie voyage,	4	7
Titular Bishops their use and abuse,	3	2
Pretenders of Titles to the Kingdome of Jeruſalem,	5	29
Tunis deſcribed; beſieged,	4	27
taken by the Chriſtians,		28
Turks whence deſcended,	1	7
their large ſtrides into Aſia,		ibid.
harder to be converted then Tartars,	4	2
Turkiſh Empire; its greatneſſe, ſtrength, and welfare; the weakneſſe and defects of it; what hopes of its approching ruine	5	30
Tylo Colupp a notable cheater,	4	20
Tyre deſcribed,	2	12
taken by the Chriſtians,		17
valiantly defended by Conrade,	3	1
wonne by Sultan Alphir,	4	32

V	B.	Ch.
VEnetians performance in this warre,	2	17
their bloudie ſea-battel with the Genoans,	4	24
Vitiouſneſſe of the Pilgrimes which went to Paleſtine,	1	12
	5	16
W		
WAfer-cake why wrought in the borders of all Egyptian tapeſtrie,	4	18
Welſh ſervice in this warre,	5	23
William Patriarch of Jeruſalem,	2	25
William Landt-grave of Heſſe his fictitious voyage to Jeruſalem confuted,	5	26
Women warriours,	1	12
	2	27
Wracks firſt quitted by the Kings of England to their ſubjects,	3	7

FINIS.

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